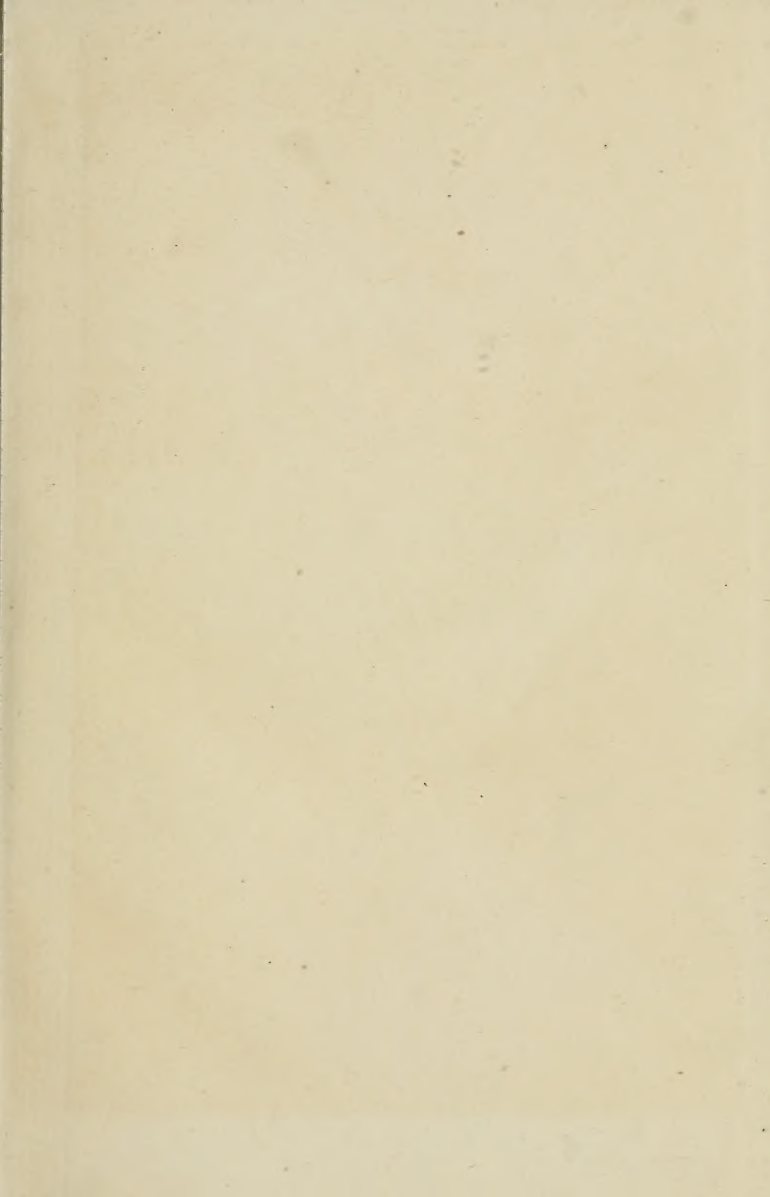
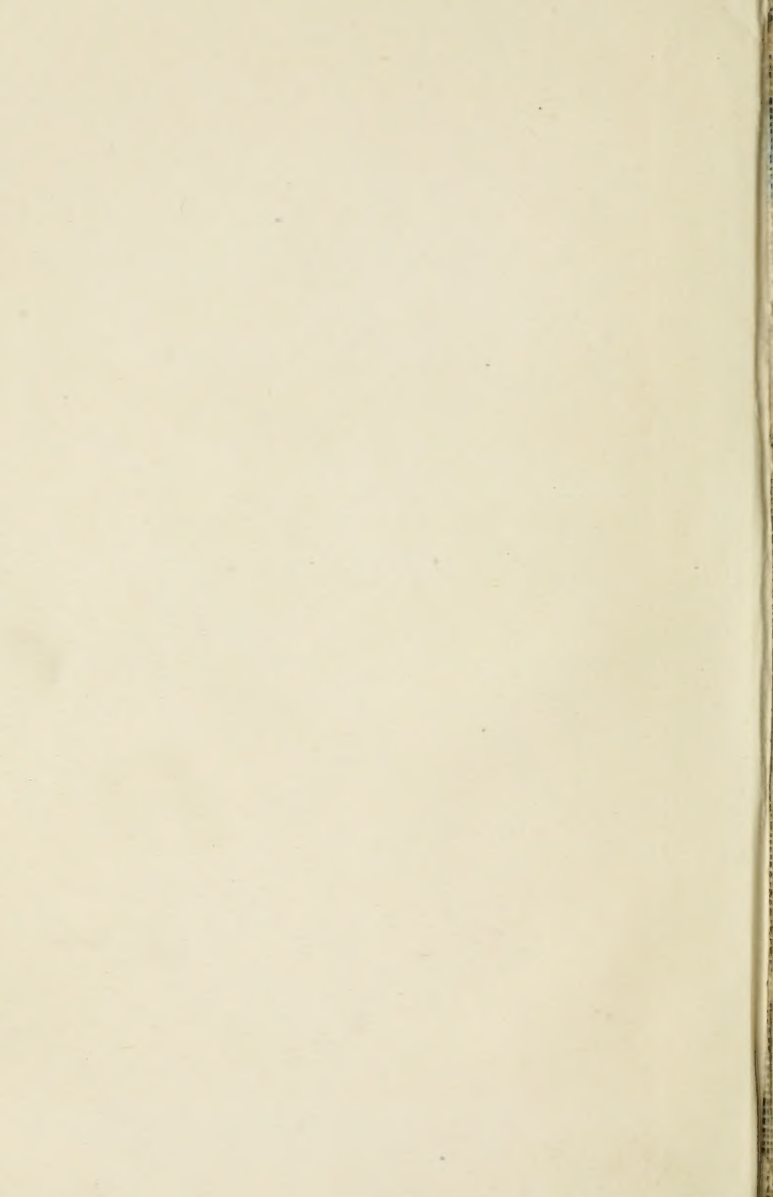


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THE ILIAD OF HOMER

BOOKS IX AND X

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# THE ILIAD OF HOMER

BOOKS IX AND X

EDITED

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

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## PREFACE.

THE text of my edition of Books IX and X of the *Iliad* is based on that of the Teubner edition. Where Homeric orthography is open to question, I have in general accepted the spelling of that edition; but a certain number of alternative readings have been preferred, and a certain number of changes in punctuation introduced, for some of which I am indebted to Dr Leaf's edition. On that work I have also drawn largely in the preparation of the Introduction and the Notes. Among other books which I have consulted frequently, I wish to acknowledge my special obligations to Mr Monro's *Homeric Grammar*, Prof. Jebb's *Introduction to Homer*, and Prof. Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece*.

I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to express to Mr L. Whibley my thanks for kindly reading the proofs of the Notes, and for many valuable suggestions; also to Mr E. H. Minns for his assistance in revising the proofs of the Introduction.

J. C. LAWSON.

CAMBRIDGE,

*December 5th, 1901.*



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## INTRODUCTION.

### § I. OUTLINE OF THE ILIAD.

**Book I.** In the tenth year of the Trojan war the Greeks are visited by Apollo with pestilence, because the daughter of Chryses, his priest, has been carried off by Agamemnon. Warned by Calchas of the cause of the pestilence, Agamemnon restores the girl to Chryses, but makes good his own loss by robbing Achilles of his captive, Briseis. Thereupon Achilles retires from the fighting, and his mother Thetis exacts from Zeus an oath that the Greeks shall suffer disaster at the hands of their foe, until they make amends to her son.

**Book II.** Zeus by a dream beguiles Agamemnon to muster his army for battle, in spite of their wish to return home to Greece. Catalogue of the forces on either side.

**Book III.** Menelaus accepts a challenge of Paris to decide the war by single combat. A truce is called between the rest of the armies, but the single combat is indecisive, for Aphrodite intervenes and rescues Paris.

**Book IV.** The truce is broken by the Trojan Pandarus. Under Agamemnon's leadership, the Greeks join battle with the Trojans.

**Book V.** The Greek hero, Diomedes, acquits himself valiantly, and, with Athene's help, succeeds in wounding even the immortals, Aphrodite and Ares.

**Book VI.** Diomedes encounters Glaucus, a Lycian ally of the Trojans, but recognizes him as a guest-friend of his family, and

exchanges with him not blows but presents. Hector returns from the battle to Troy, converses with his wife Andromache, and sallies forth again.

**Book VII.** Hector challenges the Greek chieftains. Ajax is chosen by lot to accept the challenge. Their combat is stopped by the intervention of heralds on either side. The dead are buried. A wall is built by the Greeks to protect their camp.

**Book VIII.** Fighting is renewed. Zeus, having forbidden the other gods to take part, descends to Ida, and gives the Trojans the advantage. The Trojans bivouac on the battlefield.

**Book IX.** Agamemnon, proposing to return home to Greece, is opposed by Diomedes. At Nestor's instance, Agamemnon undertakes to restore Briseis to Achilles, and to make him large presents besides. An embassy is sent to acquaint Achilles with the offer and to try to conciliate him, but he rejects all their overtures.

**Book X.** Diomedes and Odysseus make a nocturnal raid on the camp of the Trojans. On their way thither they capture Dolon, a Trojan spy, who gives them useful information and is then slain by them. They proceed to the encampment of the newly-come Thracians, where they slay Rhesus the chieftain and twelve comrades with him, and take his horses.

**Book XI.** Agamemnon fights bravely but ineffectually. Many of the Greek chieftains are wounded. Patroclus, sent by Achilles to ask after the wounded Machaon, is told by Nestor of the hopeless position of the Greeks, and is begged by him to intercede with Achilles for the assistance of his Myrmidons.

**Book XII.** The Trojans led by Hector storm and carry the wall of the Greek camp.

**Book XIII.** Poseidon takes advantage of the inattention of Zeus to rouse up the Greeks. The Cretan Idomeneus distinguishes himself.

**Book XIV.** By the wiles of Hera, Zeus is beguiled to sleep. Meantime the Greeks, still further encouraged by Poseidon, gain some advantage, and Hector is wounded.

**Book XV.** Zeus wakes up, and bids Apollo help Hector. The Trojans recover lost ground, and again press the Greeks hard. Ajax distinguishes himself in defence of the ships.

**Book XVI.** Patroclus intercedes with Achilles for the Greeks, borrows his armour, and leads the Myrmidons to the rescue. He drives back the Trojans from the ships up to the very walls of Troy, but there is slain by Hector.

**Book XVII.** The Greeks and Trojans fight for the body of Patroclus. Menelaus distinguishes himself.

**Book XVIII.** Achilles learns of the death of Patroclus and bewails him. Thereupon Thetis, his mother, comes to him. She obtains new armour for him from Hephaestus. The shield is described in detail.

**Book XIX.** Achilles renounces his wrath, and is publicly reconciled with Agamemnon. As his chariot is being prepared for battle, one of his horses, Xanthus, speaks with human voice and foretells his fate.

**Book XX.** The gods join in the battle on either side. Hector encounters Achilles, but is saved by Apollo.

**Book XXI.** The river-god Scamander, whose stream is choked with bodies of the slain, assails Achilles, who is saved by Hephaestus.

**Book XXII.** Hector alone dares to face Achilles. A single combat takes place. Hector is chased by Achilles thrice round the walls of Troy. Zeus weighs in golden scales the destinies of the combatants. It is Hector's lot to die. Apollo forsakes him, and Athene encourages Achilles. Hector is slain.

**Book XXIII.** The dead Patroclus appears to Achilles in sleep and prays for burial. The funeral is celebrated with human and other victims. Funeral games follow.

**Book XXIV.** Achilles, in consummation of his vengeance, drags Hector's corpse daily round the tomb of Patroclus. On Apollo's intercession, Zeus encourages Priam to ransom his son's body. Escorted by Hermes, he visits Achilles, who by a great effort respects his guest and grants his request. Priam conveys Hector's body back to Troy for lamentation and burial.



## § II. COMPOSITION OF THE ILIAD.

The question whether the Homeric poems were the work of a single author was first raised in ancient times by certain critics, probably Alexandrians of the third century B.C., who regarded the *Iliad* alone as the work of Homer, and referred the *Odyssey* to some poet of name unknown. From thus 'separating' the authorship of the *Iliad* from that of the *Odyssey*, they were dubbed *οἱ Χωρίζοντες*, 'the Separaters.' Whatever may have been their arguments (which must, it would seem, have rested chiefly on the internal evidence of style etc.), they produced no considerable effect on the thought of the age, and were for centuries afterwards generally discredited.

It is now little more than an hundred years since the question of authorship and composition was again raised by Wolf in his *Prolegomena*. He endeavoured to establish the four following propositions:

(1) That the Homeric poems were composed without the aid of writing, and were handed down by oral transmission.

(2) That they were first written down about 550 B.C. (the age of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens), and underwent artificial revision and arrangement at the hand of a body of *διασκευασταί* ('revisers').

(3) That the existing unity of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey* is the outcome of this deliberate revision. The original poems were separate stories with a common theme, rather than consecutive chapters in a single story.

(4) That these original poems were not all the work of a single author.

For a discussion and estimate of the various historical and other arguments by which Wolf sought to maintain these propositions, there is here no place; but it is worthy of notice that Wolf himself found his own purely critical conclusions from external arguments so far at variance with his aesthetic appreciation of the unity and harmony of the poems as a whole, that he was fain to admit a personal Homer, a poet of surpassing genius, who 'began the weaving of the web' and 'carried it down to a certain point,' nay, who 'wove *the greater part* of the

songs which were afterwards united in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.<sup>7</sup> (Jebb, '*Homer*,' pp. 109—10.)

The unity of the poems was less appreciated by Lachmann who, accepting Wolf's conclusions, went further and attempted, what Wolf had pronounced an impossibility, the dissection of the *Iliad* into a number of mutually independent lays. Even if the theory be granted, precision in practice may safely be regarded as unattainable until some two competent critics working independently shall coincide in their dissections of the poem, showing the same point of departure and the same terminus for each lay. On the other hand Hermann, who likewise accepted Wolf's view, improved upon it by attributing to Homer, not 'the weaving of the web down to a certain point' to be continued by others *ad lib.*, but the construction of a framework, the drawing of an outline, the delimitation of a design, which others expanded and completed, but did not transgress. But to account for this self-restraint on the part of later poets, he supposed Homer to have been the first poet of the 'heroic' order,—a supposition rendered improbable by the perfect adaptation of language to subject-matter, an adaptation which, as exhibited in Homer, can only have been attained by long and gradual development.

To the Wolfians, then, 'Homer' meant a collection of short unwritten lays, of which a certain number—or even the majority—were the work of the one poet in whose name all now stand.

The reaction against this view may be said to have begun with Nitzsch, who held (1) that the Homeric poems were not anterior to the use of writing, which may therefore have served as a means of transmission from one reciter to another, although publication was entirely oral, (2) that Homer was the first writer of 'epic' proper as opposed to short lays or ballads, but that in the composition of his two epics he made use of old ballads, largely in the *Iliad*, less in the *Odyssey*. Grote, following Nitzsch in his view of Homer as a *writer of epic proper*, suggested an original '*Achilleid*' containing Books 1, 8, and 11—22, which was subsequently expanded by instalments into the existing *Iliad*. To this view Geddes added a surmise that the 'non-Achillean' books were the work of a later poet

who wrote the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad* he claimed that the 'sutures' between the new and the old work were visible, while the common origin of the 'non-Achilleian' books with the *Odyssey* was shown in such ways as the presentment of Odysseus, Helen, and Hector, the aspects of the gods, etc.

More recently Prof. Jebb has put forward a modification of Grote's view; to a 'Primary *Iliad*' he assigns books 1, 11, 16—22, to which accrued successively (1) Books 2—7, (2) Books 12—15, (3) Books 8—9 and 23—24, (4) Book 10 and certain of the recognised interpolations in books already mentioned.

It will be observed therefore that recent theories concur in regarding the two books included in this edition as among the latest additions to the *Iliad*; the grounds of this view must be briefly noticed.

Grote brought as an objection to Book 9 that the rejection of Agamemnon's envoys by Achilles when they had humbled themselves before him, was revolting to the 'sentiment of Nemesis.' But the objection can hardly stand. Whoever the poet may have been who composed Book 9 (and few would esteem him an inferior poet to the genuine Homer), he was a better judge than any modern critic can be, whether the story of that book was offensive to a sentiment which he and his age must have held as strongly as ever did Homer; for the idea of Nemesis had lost none of its vigour down to the time of Aeschylus. A more solid objection is that in Book 16. 52—87, Achilles is made to speak as though no embassy had ever been sent to him. Now Book 16, in which Patroclus intercedes with Achilles on behalf of the Greeks (see 'Outline of *Iliad*' above), is absolutely essential to the plot of the *Iliad*. If then the theory is right that Homer composed an *Achilleid* or a Primary *Iliad*, of which the *Iliad*, as we now have it, is an expansion by several later hands, Book 16 must be set down as an essential part of Homer's work, and Book 9 is the magnificent achievement of some unknown later poet, who either overlooked, or in reciting would have omitted, that passage of Book 16 which conflicted with his own addition. Another point in Book 9, which is argued to indicate a later origin than the main body of

the *Iliad*, is the use of the word Ἑλλάς (l. 447) in a wider sense than is elsewhere found in the *Iliad*. Hellas, the name by which all Greece was one day to be known, was originally the name of a district in Thessaly : but in this one passage of Book 9, its extension, according to the view of some critics, has already begun, and it there stands for a larger district of North Greece. In other words, the clan called Hellenes had seemingly increased in importance and extended their borders between the date of composition of the earlier *Iliad* and the date of this line in Book 9. To these points may be added certain "traits of language...which bring it nearer to parts of Books 23, 24, and even 10, while they separate it from the body of the *Iliad*." Examples are ὥστε with infinitive (l. 42), the impersonal δεῖ (l. 337), the infinitive with ἄν in *oratio obliqua* (l. 680) etc. (See Jebb's '*Homer*,' p. 124.)

Book 10 is in no way essential to the story of the *Iliad*. It has the air of a detached episode concerning some of the Greek warriors who fought at Troy, which has been inserted without other effect than slightly to delay the working out of the plot. The episode is not in itself so decisive a success as materially to improve the position of the Greeks, and the climax of their discomfiture has already been long enough delayed for further interruption of the story to be ineffective or even tiresome. The ancient tradition that Homer composed this book not as an integral part of his epic, the *Iliad*, but as an independent lay complete in itself, which was afterwards intruded into its present place in the story, if it be not accepted as a literal statement of facts, displays at any rate clear critical appreciation of the relation—or want of relation—between Book 10 and its present context. Here again certain details of language have been adduced as evidence of comparatively late origin,—“some perfects in -κα from derivative verbs, as βεβίηκεν (l. 172); μιγήσασθαι (l. 365), the only 2nd fut. pass. in Homer, except δαήσομαι (twice in the *Odyssey*); clear instances of the article used in a post-Homeric way;...and some words frequent in the *Odyssey*, but not elsewhere found in the *Iliad* (as δόσις, φῆμις, δόξα, ἀσάμινθος.)” (See Jebb's '*Homer*,' p. 123, note 1.)

To this rapid survey of recent theories and of their bearing

upon Books 9 and 10 there must be added a caution. Arguments as to date from rare words or constructions appearing in certain books are only valid on the supposition that our present text closely approximates to Homer's original. This can hardly be the case unless writing was in use for literary purposes in Homer's time. In our present state of knowledge this proposition admits neither of proof nor of disproof. A system of writing was certainly known in Crete, and therefore, in all probability, in other parts of the Greek world before the age of Homer. But it remains as yet uncertain whether the art of writing had then passed the stage of scratching memoranda of accounts and stores on clay tablets, from which stage it is a far cry to the committing of a whole epic to the equivalent of paper. Writing indeed is once mentioned by Homer himself in the phrase *σήματα λυγρά*, 'uncanny symbols'; but that phrase itself suggests that the art of writing was as yet neither familiar nor highly developed. If then we suppose that the *Iliad* was not written down by Homer but was memorially composed and was transmitted from one reciter to another by word of mouth, it is easy to account for the various difficulties which our text now presents as the outcome of oral transmission. Local varieties of dialect, preferences for certain books and passages and comparative neglect of others, deliberate amplifications or omissions, slips of memory, reminiscences and confusions of similar passages,—all these accidents and incidents would, on the hypothesis of oral transmission, combine to obscure and to confuse genuine tradition. Those lines, for example, of Book 16, in which Achilles ignores the events of Book 9, may be an amplification of the passage by some reciter who did not include Book 9 in his *répertoire*. Again, in Book 10, l. 147 is a clear case of confusion owing to a reminiscence of l. 327. The latter is in place in the context, the former is not (see note *ad loc.*). Again, where a non-Homeric use of the article presents itself, as at 10. 536, what slip could more easily be made by a reciter than the conversion of the phrase *Ὀδυσσεύς τ' ἡδὲ κρατερὸς Διομήδης* into the phrase *Ὀδυσσεύς τε καὶ ὁ κρατερὸς Διομήδης*, where sense is unaltered, rhythm equally good, and later idiom favoured the change?



Indeed it is difficult to see why a rhapsode should have felt himself bound to verbal accuracy. Thus the fact of one book comprising a larger number of post-Homeric words and forms and idioms is not necessarily evidence of a later origin for that book, but may equally well indicate that it suffered more modification in the mouths of the reciters before ever it was committed to writing. The latter explanation is particularly plausible in the case of Book 10, which according both to ancient testimony and to modern criticism is really a lay independent of the *Iliad* and wrongly inserted therein. We have only to suppose that in some district of ancient Greece the rhapsodes found Odysseus to be a more popular hero with their audiences than Achilles, and a reason can at once be seen for the assimilation of Book 10 of the *Iliad* with the *Odyssey*. Book 10 contains an account of certain exploits of Odysseus and no mention of Achilles; further, it is a complete story in itself and therefore suitable as a comparatively short recitation. If then it were constantly recited in conjunction with the *Odyssey* to audiences whose favourite hero was Odysseus, what would be more natural, nay inevitable, than the transfer from the one to the other of certain words and phrases?

These few examples of the way in which oral transmission may have been the sole source of the many difficulties and discrepancies of our text, are not intended as proofs of any view—the limits of this Introduction exclude the statement and estimate of arguments—but may serve to justify the caution expressed above against accepting too readily any modern theory of the composition of the *Iliad* by successive additions to a *written* original, and against abandoning too lightly the old tradition recorded by Josephus that “Homer did not leave his poetry in writing, but that it was transmitted by memory, and afterwards put together from the separate songs.” (Referred to and translated by Jebb, ‘*Homer*,’ p. 105.) The difficulty of oral transmission is apt to be overestimated. No organisation would have been necessary for the purpose among a people whose memories were not impaired by the arts of reading and writing. Even at the present day there are in Greece vagrant unlettered rhapsodes who have learnt at haphazard, and recite, without

effort or slip, stories in prose or poetry no whit shorter than the *Iliad*. Unhappily the enforcement of education is rapidly killing both the memories and the powers of improvisation of the peasants, and they themselves recognize that the next generation will have exchanged the power to remember the wealth of story and song that a few of them still possess for a power to read books which none of them will be able to acquire. Surely if such gifts of memory exist still here and there among the degenerate population of Modern Greece, there is no great difficulty in imagining the oral transmission of the *Iliad* by the rhapsodes of a more virile and wholly unlettered age.

If then Homer composed the *Iliad* without the aid of writing, and the rhapsodes for two or three centuries transmitted it by word of mouth, it is obvious that when the time came that it was deemed expedient to resort to a less precarious method of transmission and to commit the poem to writing, a close approximation of the written and authorised version to Homer's original could only be secured by systematic compilation and comparison of various portions and versions of the poem as recited by various rhapsodes. Of such revision there is an ancient tradition : the task is credited either to Pisistratus or to Lycurgus : and those who believe in the memorial composition and oral transmission of the *Iliad*, will have no good reason to doubt that the period in which Lycurgus and Pisistratus flourished was the period in which the *Iliad* was first written down. That the revision which is said to have taken place was not conducted on principles of scientific criticism, is obvious from the existing discrepancies and is little cause for wonder. That the revisers in a less critical age than ours did not observe all those discrepancies which modern scholars have detected, may be readily believed : that, observing perhaps some few of them and not knowing how to reconcile them without flagrant violation of tradition, they handed down their compilation without torturing it into complete unity, is wholly to their credit and our gain.



## § III. THE LANGUAGE OF THE ILIAD.

The 'Epic' dialect is in the main of Ionic form, of which a distinguishing mark is the use of  $\eta$  where in Attic we should have  $\alpha$ ; e.g. Bk. 9, l. 2, *Θεσπεσίη ἔχε φῦζα, Φόβου κρυνέντος ἑταίρη*, cf. the words *πρήσσω* (= *πράσσω*), *κρητήρ* (= *κρατήρ*) etc. But the dialect differs materially from that of Herodotus (in contrast with which the language of Homer is spoken of as 'Old Ionic') both in word-formation and in syntax. As an example of the former may be cited the large number of strong aorists in Homer, one class of which,—namely 2nd aorists middle formed by adding the personal termination to the tense-stem without a connecting or 'Thematic' vowel,—afterwards became obsolete, e.g. *ᾤρ-το*, *δέκ-το* etc. Differences in syntax are still more striking. The article (*ὁ, ἡ, τό*) is far more emphatic than in later Greek, and is seldom to be translated 'the': it is most commonly a personal pronoun ('he,' 'she,' 'it') or a demonstrative pronoun ('this,' 'that'). Again, in statements referring to future time, a wide range of constructions is open. The future indicative, the subjunctive and the optative may all three be used with or without *κεν* or *ἄν* to express various grades of probability,—grades which do not seem to have been very accurately distinguished by Homer and which certainly defy precise translation. In later Greek the subjunctive lost its power of expressing a future statement, the optative required *ἄν* for that purpose, and the future indicative rejected *ἄν*,—the six grades of probability being thus reduced to the more easily distinguished two. Prepositions again have in Homer not fully emerged from the adverbial stage: thus in the phrase *Ἰλιόθι πρό*, the form *Ἰλιόθι* is not governed by *πρό*, but has a locative force in itself (= 'at Ilium'), to which the adverb *πρό* adds the notion 'in front.' So in cases of what is called 'tmesis,' i.e. the 'cutting off' or separation of the preposition (or rather the adverb) from the verb, e.g. Bk. 9. 212, *κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη*, 'the fire burnt down,' it would be more correct to say that the adverb *κατά* had not yet in the Homeric dialect coalesced with the verb *καίω*. All cases

of verbs compounded with 'prepositions,' as we usually say, are really cases where the same adverbs were so frequently required to qualify the same verbs, that the adverb and verb gradually became united in one word. 'Tmesis' therefore is an ill-chosen term; there is no such thing as 'severing' a compounded verb; in Homer the process of compounding is still incomplete. Finally, as we should expect of a language in its youth, the expression of thought in Homer is often 'paratactic' where in later Greek it would be 'syntactic,' i.e. clauses, of which one in later Greek would form a main sentence with the other or others subordinate to it, are in Homer arranged side by side without subordination. Thus 'come and see' is paratactic; 'come that you may see' is syntactic. In some cases there is no difference in the actual words in Greek between the paratactic and the syntactic forms of expression. Thus the two paratactic clauses, 'Would that Achilles might relent! Then would the Greeks be saved,' can be expressed in Homeric Greek in exactly the same words as the 'syntactic' sentence, 'If only Achilles would relent, then the Greeks would be saved.' The difference in reciting was merely one of tone and pause, and the difference in writing is therefore one of punctuation only. See notes on 10. 101, and 204—13.

The Homeric dialect, though, as we have seen, fairly called Old Ionic, was never the spoken dialect of any given Ionic people. The variety of forms in which the simplest words occur is a decisive argument against any such supposition. No single spoken dialect would have contained five forms of the infinitive of εἶμι: yet in Homer we find εἶναι, ἔμεν, ἔμμεν, ἔμεναι and ἔμμεναι, and the same wealth of alternative forms is characteristic of the 'Epic' dialect throughout. This richness in form was probably the product of a long period of ballad-making prior to the composition of any Epic proper,—a period in which language was gradually matured and developed to suit the requirements of the hexameter rhythm,—and came an already perfected instrument of musical speech to the great master of epic song.

The Homeric dialect, then, as we now have it, is an Old-Ionic poetic dialect, which contains a variety of forms never

co-existent in any single spoken idiom. But in it there are found certain elements usually associated with the Aeolic rather than the Ionic dialect. Among these may be mentioned :

(1) Some cases of *βαρυτόνησις* (i.e. accenting as far back as possible) which the tradition of the MSS. has preserved to us, e.g. *ἐγρήγορθαι* (where Ionic and Attic would have *ἐγρηγόρθαι*).

(2) Nominatives of masculine words of the first declension, with termination *ᾶ*, e.g. *ἰππότα*.

(3) The forms *ἄμμες*, *ὔμμες* (= *ἡμεῖς*, *ὕμεῖς*).

(4) A few words such as *αὐτάρ*, *πίσυρες*, *αἶσα*, *πτόλις*.

To these used to be added the letter 'digamma' (the English 'w') but this is now known to have existed in other than the Aeolic dialect.

The presence of these Aeolic elements suggested a theory that Aeolic was the original dialect of the Homeric poems, of which a deliberate translation in Ionic was made in the latter half of the 6th century B.C. It is barely conceivable that such a translation could at once have superseded the Aeolic original. It would be more reasonable to suppose that an Aeolic original had become gradually and unconsciously Ionicised in the mouths of Ionic rhapsodes. But, until we know more precisely what were the characteristic contrasts of Aeolic and Ionic at a very early epoch in their development, speculations on the point must remain unreliable.

#### § IV. GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

A few of the commoner forms in which the Homeric declensions and conjugations differ from those of Attic are here enumerated; the rarer and archaic forms will be commented upon in the Notes as they occur.

##### First Declension.

The nom. sing. of feminine words is in *-η* with few exceptions: *πέτρη*, *ἀληθείη* etc., but *θεά*.

The nom. sing. of masculine words is generally in *-ης*.

Except (1) *Ἑρμείας* and some other proper names.

(2) Aeolic nominatives in *ᾶ*, as *ἰππότα*.

The gen. sing. of masculine words is in *-εω* or *-αω*, or after a vowel, in *-ω*, as *Ἑρμείω*.

The gen. plur. is in *-άων* or *-έων*; but the contracted *-ῶν*, which is universal in Attic, may occur after a long vowel. Thus *κρατευτάων*, *ἀγορέων*, *πολλάων* and *πολλέων*; but *παρειῶν*.

The dat. plur. is in (1) *-ησι(ν)*,

(2) *-ης*,

(3) *-αις*, as in Attic, but cases of this are rare and possibly corrupt.

For *-φι(ν)*, an old Instrumental case-ending, see note on Bk. 9, l. 58, *γενεήφιν*.

### Second Declension.

The genitive singular is generally in *-οιο*; but a shortened form in *-οο* existed, of which the contraction *-ου* also occurs as in Attic. See note on 9. 440, *όμουόο πτολέμοιο*.

The dative plural is in *-οισι(ν)*, or, as in Attic, *-οις*.

The genitive and dative dual is in *-οῖν*.

The Instrumental case in *-φι(ν)* belongs also to this declension, e.g. *θεόφιν*.

### Third Declension.

The case-ending usually follows a stem ending in a vowel without contraction:

e.g. <i>μένος</i>	gen. <i>μένεος</i> ,	dat. <i>μένει</i>
<i>δέπας</i>	gen. <i>δέπας</i> ,	dat. <i>δέπαϊ</i> (but also <i>δέπα</i> )
<i>αἰδώς</i>	gen. <i>αἰδόος</i> ,	dat. <i>αἰδοῖ</i> .

*-εος* when contracted becomes not *-ους*, as in Attic, but *-ευσ*.

The dative plural ends in *-σι*, but several forms of the case occur in some common words:

e.g. *χείρ* makes dat. plur. *χερσί*, *χείρεσι* and *χείρεσσι*.  
*ἔπος* makes dat. plur. *ἔπεσι*, *ἔπεσσι* and *ἐπέεσσι*.

This doubling of *σ* and of other consonants is a common metrical convenience, e.g. *ὀπίσω* and *ὀπίσσω*.

A few common words may be noticed separately.

*πόλις* is declined throughout with a stem in *-ι* (*πόλιν*, *πόλιος*, *πολίεσσι* etc.), but has also the lengthened forms *πόληος*, *πόληϊ*, *πόληες*, *πόληας*, and more rarely *πόλεος* and *πόλεας*.

ἀνὴρ makes gen. sing. ἀνέρος as well as ἀνδρός, and other analogous forms.

νίος has forms of both second and third declension, e.g. gen. sing. νιοῦ or νιέος.

νηϋς (Attic ναῦς) is declined throughout with stem νη- (from which a digamma is lost), e.g. νη(Ϝ)-ός, νή(Ϝ)-εσσι, but has alternative forms with stem νε(Ϝ)-, as νέ-ας, νε-ῶν.

The adjective πολὺς (with neuter πολὺ) is declined in the masculine throughout (with the exception of the dative singular which does not occur) according to the third declension (gen. sing. πόλεος etc.). The form πολλός, πολλή, πολλόν is declined throughout according to the rules above given for the first and second declensions, save that the gen. πολλοῦ is wanting.

The personal pronouns are as follows:—

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
Sing.	N. ἐγώ, ἐγών A. ἐμέ, με G. ἐμεῖο, ἐμέο, ἐμεῦ, μεν. A form ἐμέθεν also serves as gen. D. ἐμοί, μοι	σύ, τύνη σε σεῖο, σέο, σευ, τεοῖο. A form σέθεν also serves as gen. σολί, τοι, τεῖν	ἐέ, ἔ, μιν εῖο, ἐο, εὔ. A form ἔθεν also serves as gen. ἐοῖ, οἷ
Dual	N. A. νῶι G. D. νῶιν	σφῶι σφῶιν	σφῶέ σφῶιν
Plur.	N. ἡμεῖς, ἄμμες A. ἡμέας, ἄμμε, once ἡμας G. ἡμείων, ἡμέων D. ἡμῖν, ἡμιν, ἄμμι(ν)	ὑμεῖς, ὕμμες ὑμέας, ὕμμε ὑμείων, ὑμέων ὑμῖν, ὕμιν, ὕμμι(ν)	σφέας, σφᾶς, σφε, and once σφᾶς σφείων, σφέων, σφῶν σφίσι(ν), σφι(ν)

For a case in which σφίσι as reflexive serves as dat. plur. of the *second* personal pronoun, see note on 10. 398.

The Article (ὁ, ἡ, τό) also serves as third personal pronoun in all cases.

Peculiarities of verbs will be found discussed for the most part in notes on the passages where they occur. But the formation of the subjunctive active and middle, as a frequently occurring phenomenon, may be explained here.



In Attic the subjunctives active and middle of presents and aorists all have the following terminations:

A. Active	-ω, -ης, -η		-ητον, -ητον		-ωμεν, -ητε, -ωσι
Middle	-ομαι, -η, -ηται		-ωμεθον, -ησθον, -ησθον		-ωμεθα, -ησθε, -ωνται.

In the original dialect of Homer this scheme of formation was probably confined in its entirety to 'Thematic' tenses, i.e. those tenses of the indicative which have a vowel (ο or ε) inserted between the tense-stem and the personal suffix, e.g. τῦπτ-ο-μεν, λύ-ε-τε, ἐλάβ-ε-τε etc., while Non-Thematic tenses, i.e. those in which the personal suffix follows immediately upon the tense-stem, e.g. ἵμεν, ἔλυσ-α, ἔβη-ν, formed their subjunctive by the aid of that system of terminations which in Attic belongs to the Present *Indicative*, viz.:

B. Active	-ω, -εις, -ει		-ετον, -ετον		-ομεν, -ετε, -ουσι
Middle	-ομαι, -ει, -εται		-ομεθον, -εσθον, -εσθον		-ομεθα, -εσθε, -ονται

But in our actual text these forms with short vowels are not all now extant. Some of them have been regularly preserved by the exigencies of metre; but where the change from the early scheme of formation to the later Ionic and Attic scheme did not affect the metre, that change has almost invariably taken place. Thus in the Active -εις, -ει and -ουσι have been supplanted by the later forms -ης, -η and -ωσι because the substitution did not damage the metre; for it was natural for the rhapsodes unconsciously to assimilate the old Homeric forms to the later idiom of their own times, wherever such assimilation made no difference to the beauty and rhythm of the poem. They and their auditors were not concerned with preserving ancient grammatical forms. Similarly in the Middle the terminations -ει, -εσθον, -εσθε and -ονται were unconsciously changed into -η, -ησθον, -ησθε and -ωνται.

The actual hybrid scheme by which Thematic tenses form their subjunctives in our existing texts results therefore as follows:

C. Active	-ω, -ης, -η		-ετον, -ετον		-ομεν, -ετε, -ωσι
Middle	-ομαι, -η, -εται		-ομεθον, -ησθον, -ησθον		-ομεθα, -ησθε, -ωνται.

A few forms, however, surviving for other reasons than the necessities of metre, remain to attest the former completeness of the system of formation (B) for Non-Thematic tenses. Such are two subjunctives which have come to be used exclusively as futures. From *ἔδομαι*, used as the future of *ἐσθίω* but really a 2nd aorist subj. mid., we have the form *ἔδονται* (*not* *ἔδωνται*), (with which compare the word *δυσωρήσονται* in 10. 183, which Homeric idiom compels us to take as aor. subj. See note *ad loc.*); and from *δῆω* used as a future (= 'shall find'), but really an aorist subjunctive, comes a form *δῆεις* as well as *δῆομεν* and *δῆετε*.

The scheme of formation C should be carefully observed by the student, in order that he may not mistake the aorists subjunctive of Non-Thematic tenses for futures indicative, their forms being in many cases identical, and idiom being the only guide by which to decide between them. See note on 9. 46, *διαπέρσομεν*.

### § V. METRE AND QUANTITY.

The measure in which the Homeric poems are composed is the *Hexameter*. This measure, as its name indicates, is composed of six *feet* to each verse. Each *foot* falls into two equal parts. Of these parts the first is known as the *arsis* ('raising of the tone or voice') as bearing the rhythmical accent, and is always a long syllable. The second part is known as the *thesis* ('dropping of the tone or voice'), and consists indifferently either of one long syllable or two short syllables, except in the fifth foot where two short syllables are preferred, and in the sixth foot where *two* short syllables are inadmissible, but a *single* short syllable may do duty for a long syllable. The scheme of quantity of the Hexameter may be presented thus:—

1st foot	2nd foot	3rd foot	4th foot	5th foot	6th foot
— or —	— or —	— or —	— or —	— or more commonly —	— or —

Besides the observance of this scheme of quantity, the *hexameter* requires a break or pause in its rhythm. This pause



is effected by the non-coincidence of words with metrical feet. One foot at least in every verse must be so divided as to contain the end of one word and the beginning of the next. This division is called the *caesura* ('cutting'). The purpose of *caesura* is to give a balance to the verse; this balance was found to be best attained by *caesura* in the third foot; if wanting there, it must occur in the fourth foot. In a very large number of verses there is *caesura* in both these feet.

This division of the foot by the overlapping of two words lies either between the *arsis* and the *thesis* (— :  $\overline{\sigma}$ ), or, in the case of a dactylic foot, between the two short syllables of the *thesis* (· · : ·). The former is called 'strong' or 'masculine' *caesura*, the latter 'weak' or 'feminine,' or (because the first part of the foot thus divided constitutes a trochee, — ~) 'trochaic' *caesura*. The following lines exemplify these varieties of *caesura*.

(1) Strong *caesura* in the 3rd foot.

Πένθεϊ δ' ἀτλήτω : βεβολήατο πάντες ἄριστοι. II. 9. 3.

(2) Weak *caesura* in the 3rd foot.

Φοῖτα κηρύκεσσι : λιγυφθόγγουσι κελείων. II. 9. 10.

(3) Strong *caesura* in the 4th foot.

Νῆξ δ' ἦδ' ἡ ἐ διαρραΐσει : στρατὸν ἡ ἐ σαώσει. II. 9. 73.

(4) Weak *caesura* in the 4th foot.

Πηλεὺς θήν μοι ἔπειτα γυνῆκα : γαμέσσεται αἰτός. II. 9. 394.

Αἰτὰρ ὁ μῶϊνος ἔην μετὰ πέντε : κασιγνήτησι. II. 10. 317.

In both the examples of type (4) it will be noticed that there is *caesura* in the third foot as well as that marked in the fourth, in the former verse 'weak,' in the latter verse 'strong.' Weak *caesura* of the fourth foot seems never to be found alone, and to be avoided in general even in combination with *caesura* of the third foot. The first three types of *caesura* must therefore be regarded as the normal forms. The student will find that in a large proportion of verses strong *caesura* of the fourth foot, as in example (3), is combined with strong or weak *caesura* of the third foot, as in examples (1) and (2).

To the reverse of *caesura*, viz. to the coincidence of the end

of a word with the end of a metrical foot, is applied the term *diaeresis*. Such a break is not essential to the rhythm, and in many verses there is none. It is seldom or never found at the end of the third foot, where its effect would be to break the verse into two equal halves. It is most frequently found at the end of the fourth foot, and when it occurs there, the fourth foot is by preference a dactyl. *Diaeresis* in this position, from being a marked feature of Bucolic poetry, is called the *Bucolic Diaeresis*. A line already cited as an instance of *caesura* exhibits also two cases of *diaeresis*, (1) at the end of the first foot, (2) at the end of the dactylic fourth foot (i.e. *bucolic diaeresis*).

Πένθεϊ δ' ἀτλήτω βεβολῆ᾽ αὐτῷ πάντες ἄριστοι. *Il.* 9. 3.

The quantity of a given syllable for metrical purposes depends primarily on the nature of the vowel or vowels which it contains. Diphthongs and the vowels  $\omega$  and  $\eta$  are by nature long:  $\alpha$ ,  $\iota$ , and  $\upsilon$  may be either long or short by nature, i.e. they were capable of pronunciation in two different ways, but the two sounds are represented by the same symbol in writing:  $\epsilon$  and  $o$  are short by nature.

But a vowel or diphthong does not always retain its natural quantity. Vowels naturally short, viz.  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $o$ ,  $\upsilon$ , become long by position before two consonants; e.g. ἀπτόλεμος, in which  $\alpha$ , naturally short, is lengthened by position before  $\pi\tau$ : πένθος, in which  $\epsilon$  is lengthened by position before  $\nu\theta$ . The double consonants  $\zeta$  ( $= \sigma + \delta$ ),  $\psi$  ( $= \pi + \sigma$ ) and  $\xi$  ( $= \kappa + \sigma$ ) have the same lengthening effect as a combination of two ordinary consonants. On the other hand, vowels which are long by nature, viz.,  $\alpha$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\omega$ , and diphthongs are liable to shortening in those positions in which a vowel naturally short would suffer elision. In other words, a long vowel or diphthong at the end of a word is shortened in *hiatus*, i.e. when the following word begins with any vowel without intervening consonant, e.g.

Εἰ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται, ὥς τε νέεσθαι,  
Ἔρχεο· πᾶρ τοῖ ὁδός, νῆες δέ τοι ἄγχι θαλάσσης.

*Il.* 9. 42—3.

In these two lines the diphthong  $\alpha\iota$  is thrice shortened

in *hiatus*, and the termination *-ται* of *ἐπέσσεται* suffers the like before *ὧς τε*.

To these two rules exceptions are made, some regularly, others irregularly.

(1) A short vowel at the end of a word may be lengthened by position before certain words beginning with one of the consonants *ρ, λ, μ, ν, σ, δ*, e.g.

Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἄχεϊ μέγα λω βεβηλημένος ἦτορ. *Il.* 9. 9.

This phenomenon may be explained on the supposition that the initial consonant was doubled in pronunciation, the words *ἄχεϊ μέγα λω* being sounded as *ἄχεϊμ μέγα λω*.

(2) The augment of verbs beginning with one of the same six consonants is likewise liable to lengthening, e.g. *ἔδδισεν*, *10.* 240; *ἐλλίσσοντο*, *9.* 585, etc. The explanation lies in the same doubling of sound as in the former case, and the words are conveniently written *ἔδδισεν*, *ἐλλίσσοντο*, etc. In Attic this doubling of sound after the augment is regularly found in verbs beginning with *ρ*, but not with other consonants.

(3) Diphthongs and long vowels sometimes retain their natural quantity in spite of *hiatus*. This is most common with *-ω* and *η*, and it has been suggested that, at the date of composition of the Homeric poems, the *ι* subscript could be sounded as a *γ*, when required, and thus obviate *hiatus*: e.g. *δὴν δ' ἄνεω ἦσαν* (*9.* 30, etc.) may have sounded as *δὴν δ' ἄνεωγ ἦσαν*. In the less frequent cases in which there is no saving *ι* subscript, as *-ου, -ευ, -η, -ω*, etc., we must be content to assume lengthening *in arsi*, i.e. that the syllable in question is confirmed in its natural quantity by the incidence upon it of the rhythmical stress or *ictus*.

(4) Syllables naturally short are sometimes lengthened by the same *ictus*.

(5) A few words, which otherwise would be excluded from hexameter verse, receive irregular and artificial lengthening of one syllable, e.g. *ἀθάνατος, ἀπονέεσθαι*, in both of which the initial *ἄ* is treated as *ᾶ*. In this case the incidence of the *ictus* on the syllable may have aided in the lengthening.

Before accounting for any apparent irregularity in metre by

the aid of the principles above enumerated, the student must be careful to discover whether that appearance is not due solely to the unwritten *digamma* with which many Homeric words begin, and to which was generally allowed the full force of a consonant. The *digamma* was a letter of the same sound as the English *w*, and derived its name from the resemblance of its written symbol (*F*) to a double *gamma* ( $\Gamma$ ). The letter was written in inscriptions of certain ancient dialects, but not to our knowledge in the text of Homer. None the less it was without doubt sounded in recitation when the Homeric poems were first composed. Since the *digamma* was a consonant, (1) there could be no *hiatus* before it, and therefore no elision of short vowels nor shortening of long vowels, (2) it could make 'position,' i.e. a short termination of which the final letter was a consonant (e.g. *-os*, *-es*, *-ov*) became long before a word beginning with the sound of *digamma*. Among the most frequent words with initial *digamma* are *ἄναξ* (*ἀνάσσειν* etc.), *ἄστυ*, *εἵκοσι*, *ἔοικα*, *ἔκκλητος*, *ἕκαστος*, *ἄλλος*, *ἐλπομαι*, *εἰπεῖν* (*ἔπος* etc.), *ἔργον*, *ἐρέω*, *ἐννυμι*, *ἰδεῖν* (*οἶδα*, *εἶδος* etc.), *ἴσος*, *οἶκος*, *οἶνος*. To these add a few words which originally began with *σF*: of these two consonants the *σ* first disappeared, or rather was transformed into the rough breathing, the initial 'F' being related to *F* as the English *wh* to *w*. Next the *digamma* itself was lost, leaving only the rough breathing to mark the place of the original *σF*. Such words are the pronoun *ἐ* (*εἶο*, *οἶ*) and the corresponding possessive *οἶς*, also *ἀνδάνω*, *ἡδύς*, etc.

As a matter of fact, in the text of Homer, as it now exists, the *digamma* is found to be disregarded on an average once out of every six places where it occurs. This inconsistency did not probably belong to the original composition, but is the result of oral transmission by reciters who no longer pronounced the *F*-sound. That sound, we know, was lost very early in the Ionic dialect. That loss "led to irregularities of metre, especially to frequent *hiatus*, and there would be a constant tendency to cure these defects by some slight change. The insertion of the *ν* *ἐφέλκυστικόν* was almost a matter of course" (Monro, *H. G.* p. 288). Thus we have constantly *προσέειπεν ἄναξ* instead of *προσέειπε Φάναξ*. Again "the numerous alterna-

tive forms used in the poetical language, and the abundance of short Particles such as γέ, τέ, ῥά etc. made it easy to disguise the loss of *F* in many places" (*Id.* p. 289). Thus, to take a few instances from Book 9, the common text has at l. 73 πολέεσσι δ' ἀνάσσεις, while Aristarchus read πολέσιν γὰρ ἀνάσσεις. The true reading can be easily restored from these two versions, which have suffered different corrections consequent on the loss of the *F* from ἀνάσσεις: the original evidently was πολέσιν δὲ Φανάσσεις. So again in 9. 88 most MSS. give δόρπον in the phrase which should be τίρεντο δὲ δόρπα Φέκαστος: and in 9. 128 we have to read not γυναικας ἀμύμονας, ἔργ' εἰδυίας (Aristarchus read ἀμύμονας and some of the older editions give εἰδυίας), but γυναικας ἀμύμονα Φέργα Φιδυίας.

It is not usual to print the *digamma* in the text of Homer, for the reason that the restoration of it in every place would necessitate numerous emendations of the traditional text: but the fact that, in the majority of places where the *digamma* is now neglected, such emendations would be of the most obvious and simple nature, is itself evidence that the *digamma* was not originally neglected at will, but was observed regularly as a consonant.

## § VI. HOMERIC ARMOUR.

Book 10 is distinguished by its detailed description of dress and armour; it is well therefore that the student should approach it with such knowledge of an Homeric warrior's equipment as will enable him to form a clear picture of the scenes described. A theory has been recently advanced that the Achaeans, who formed the bulk of the Greek army before Troy, were not the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece, but had immigrated from the north. With them they had brought a civilisation different in many ways from that of the Pelasgian population among whom they came. In this civilisation an important point was the use of iron instead of bronze for offensive weapons: the Pelasgians had used bronze both for spears and for arrowheads. The Achaean warrior on the contrary was equipped with an iron sword (ἔιφος), more often used for the cut than for the thrust



in virtue of its superior rigidity. For "with iron came the power of dealing a trenchant stroke." And further, since "such a blow could be delivered more effectively with a long than with a short sword," it is "natural to find Odysseus armed with a 'long hanger' (τανύηκες ἄορ)." (Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, I. p. 305.) Besides the sword, "the Homeric hero has often a spear (ἔγχος), probably of iron." In the spear-head was a socket into which the wooden shaft was fitted, and the butt of the spear was finished off with a conical knob (οὐρίαχος) or with a spike (σφυρωτήρ, on which see note at 10. 153). The bow and arrow were somewhat despised, although Odysseus was an adept with them; but we hear of iron being used also for the arrowhead.

Defensive armour on the other hand was still made of bronze. The Achaeans constantly have the epithet χαλκοχίτωνες, i.e. they wore shirts of mail made of bronze. Further, "the breastplate (θώραξ) is frequently mentioned as part of the warrior's gear. It is described as χάλκεος, πολυδαίδαλος, παναίολος. These epithets prove that it was commonly composed of bronze and often highly ornate....It was sometimes composed of γύαλα or hollow plates, which were probably fastened on to a substructure of leather. It was in fact a hauberk rather than a cuirass" (*Id.* p. 309). "For protection of the belly the chieftains occasionally wore a μίτρη. It was worn by Ares and Menelaus. As it is described as πολυδαίδαλος, and as 'wrought by the smiths' (χαλκῆες), it was certainly made of metal. It is mentioned in close connection with the ζῶμα, and from the epithet αἰολομίτρης it was probably visible when worn. It lay next the skin under the lower part of the hauberk, which was girt to it by the girdle (ζωστήρ), which seems to have been of leather (sometimes red), fitted with bronze clasps."... "From the close connection of the μίτρη and the ζῶμα, it is not unlikely that the latter was a broad belt of leather worn to protect the belly. Just as the leathern shirt was later strengthened by metal attachments, so further security was obtained for the abdomen by wearing a broad bronze belt (μίτρη) over the earlier ζῶμα" (*Id.* pp. 310, 311).

In addition to this body-armour the legs were protected with

greaves of bronze (or in the case of Achilles, of tin), fastened at knee and ankle. This appears to have been a distinguishing feature of Achaean panoply, the term *ἐνκνήμιδες* being among the most frequent of the epithets applied to them.

The head was provided with an helmet of varying material and shape. It might be a simple cap of leather; the word *κυνέη* itself, which is used for any kind of helmet, properly meant some headgear of 'dogskin' (from *κύων*, *κυνός*). The epithets *ταυρείη*, *αἰγείη* and *κτιδῆη*, show that the hides of bull and of goat and the skin of the marten or weasel were turned to the same purpose. To leathern helmets were sometimes added bronze attachments; plates or studs of bronze may be meant by the epithet *χαλκήρης*, and cheek-pieces of bronze are specified by *χαλκοπάρης*. There were also helmets entirely of bronze (*κυνέη πάγχαλκος*). Certain terms for parts of the helmet require explanation. A crest (*λόφος*) was sometimes fitted into the top of the helmet. *φάλαρα* means a boss or ornamental plate; the epithet *τετραφάληρος* is therefore descriptive of a helmet with four such bosses. Finally *φάλος* is a ridge running along the helmet fore and aft. Such ridges might number more than one; the epithets *ἀμφίφαλος*, *τετράφαλος* denote helmets with two and four ridges respectively; while *τρυφάλεια*, which properly meant an helmet with three ridges, lost that special sense (just as *κυνέη* lost the special sense of 'dog-skin'), and is employed by Homer as a general term for 'helmet.'

Lastly, on the left arm was borne a shield (*ἀσπίς*). The epithets commonly applied to it clearly denote its shape,—'circular' (*κυκλοτερής*, *εἴκυκλος*), or more precisely and suggestively of Euclid's definition of a circle, 'equal in every direction' (*πάντος εἴση*). In the centre it had a boss (*ὄμφαλος*) round which were sometimes concentric circles of ornamental work.

In some such guise equipped, the hero, accompanied by a comrade-in-arms as charioteer, mounted a two-wheeled car drawn by a pair of horses and drove into battle.



# ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ι.

## ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΧΙΛΛΕΑ. ΛΙΤΑΙ.

*Agamemnon convokes an assembly of the Greeks,  
and advises them to return home.*

ὥς οἱ μὲν Τρῶες φυλακὰς ἔχον· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὺς  
θεσπεσίῃ ἔχε φύζα, φόβου κρυόεντος ἑταίρῃ,  
πένθει δ' ἀτλήτῳ βεβολήατο πάντες ἄριστοι.  
ὥς δ' ἄνεμοι δύο πόντον ὀρίνετον ἰχθυόεντα,  
Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῷ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον, 5  
ἐλθόντ' ἑξαπίνης· ἄμυδις δέ τε κύμα κελαινὸν  
κορθύεται, πολλὸν δὲ παρέξ ἄλα φῦκος ἔχενεν·  
ὥς ἐδαΐζετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν.

Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἄχεϊ μεγάλῳ βεβολημένος ἦτορ  
φοίτα κηρύκεσσι λιγυφθόγγοισι κελεύων 10  
κλήδην εἰς ἀγορὴν κικλήσκειν ἄνδρα ἕκαστον,  
μηδὲ βοᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ πρῶτοισι πονεῖτο.  
ἴζον δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ τετιηότες· ἂν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
ἴστατο δάκρυ χέων ὥς τε κρήνη μελάννυδρος,  
ἥ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης δνοφερὸν χέει ὕδωρ· 15  
ὥς ὁ βαρὺ στενάχων ἔπε' Ἀργείοισι μετηύδα·  
“ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες,  
Ζεὺς με μέγα Κρονίδης ἄτῃ ἐνέδησε βαρεῖν,  
σχέτλιος, ὃς τότε μὲν μοι ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν  
Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντ' εὐτείχεον ἀπονέεσθαι, 20

νῦν δὲ κακὴν ἀπάτην βουλεύσατο, καὶ με κελεύει  
 δυσκλέα Ἄργος ἰκέσθαι, ἐπεὶ πολὺν ὤλεσα λαόν.  
 οὔτω που Διὶ μέλλει ὑπερμενεί φίλον εἶναι,  
 ὃς δὴ πολλάων πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα  
 ἦδ' ἔτι καὶ λύσει· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον. 25  
 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες·  
 φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίην αἰρήσομεν εὐρυάγυιαν."

*Diomedes vehemently opposes Agamemnon's suggestion.*

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.  
 δὴν δ' ἄνεω ἦσαν τετιηότες νῆες Ἀχαιῶν. 30  
 ὁψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 "Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σοὶ πρῶτα μαχήσομαι ἀφραδέοντι,  
 ἢ θέμις ἐστίν, ἄναξ, ἀγορῇ· σὺ δὲ μή τι χολωθῇς.  
 ἀλκὴν μὲν μοι πρῶτον ὀνειδίσας ἐν Δαναοῖσιν,  
 φὰς ἔμεν ἀπτόλεμον καὶ ἀνάλκιδα· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα 35  
 ἴσας' Ἀργείων ἡμὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες·  
 σοὶ δὲ διάνδιχα δῶκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω·  
 σκῆπτρῳ μὲν τοι δῶκε τετιμῆσθαι περὶ πάντων,  
 ἀλκὴν δ' οὐ τοι δῶκεν, ὃ τε κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.  
 δαιμόνι', οὔτω που μάλα ἔλπεαι νῆας Ἀχαιῶν 40  
 ἀπτολέμους τ' ἔμεναι καὶ ἀνάλκιδας, ὥς ἀγορεύεις;  
 εἰ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται ὥς τε νέεσθαι,  
 ἔρχεο· πᾶρ τοι ὁδός, νῆες δέ τοι ἄγχι θαλάσσης  
 [ἐστᾶς', αἶ τοι ἔποντο Μυκῆνηθεν μάλα πολλαί.]  
 ἀλλ' ἄλλοι μενέουσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί, 45  
 εἰς ὃ κέ περ Τροίην διαπέρσομεν. εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 φευγόντων σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν·  
 νῶϊ δ', ἐγὼ Σθένελός τε, μαχησόμεθ', εἰς ὃ κε τέκμων  
 Ἰλίου εὕρωμεν· σὺν γὰρ θεῷ εἰλήλουθμεν."

*On Nestor's proposal guards are set, and Agamemnon invites the elder men to sup in his tent.*

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπίαχον νῆες Ἀχαιῶν, 50  
μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο.

τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετεφώνεεν ἱππότα Νέστωρ·

“Τυδεΐδη, περί μὲν πολέμῳ ἔνι καρτερός ἐσσι,  
καὶ βουλῇ μετὰ πάντας ὁμήλικας ἔπλευ ἄριστος·  
οὐ τίς τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόςσεται, ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί, 55  
οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐρέει· ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἵκεο μύθων.

ἦ μὴν καὶ νέος ἐσσί, ἐμὸς δέ κε καὶ πᾶις εἴης  
ὀπλότατος γενεῇφιν· ἀτὰρ πεπνυμένα βάζεις  
Ἀργείων βασιλῆας, ἐπεὶ κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.

ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐγὼν, ὃς σείο γεραίτερος εὐχομαι εἶναι, 60  
ἐξείπω καὶ πάντα διίξομαι· οὐδέ κέ τίς μοι  
μῦθον ἀτιμήσει, οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων.

ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,

ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος.

ἀλλ' ἦ τοι νῦν μὲν πειθώμεθα νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ 65  
δόρπα τ' ἐφοπλισόμεσθα· φυλακτῆρες δὲ ἕκαστοι  
λεξάσθων παρὰ τάφρον ὀρυκτὴν τείχεος ἐκτός.

κούροισιν μὲν ταῦτ' ἐπιτέλλομαι· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα,  
Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σὺ μὲν ἄρχε· σὺ γὰρ βασιλεύτατός ἐσσι·  
δαίνυ' δαῖτα γέρουσιν· ἔοικέ τοι, οὐ τοι ἀεικές. 70

πλεῖαί τοι οἶνου κλισίαι, τὸν νῆες Ἀχαιῶν  
ἡμάτιαι Θρήκηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα πόντον ἄγουσιν·

πᾶσά τοι ἔσθ' ὑποδεξίῃ, πολέεσσι δ' ἀνάσσεις.

πολλῶν δ' ἀγρομένων τῷ πείσεις, ὅς κεν ἀρίστην  
βουλὴν βουλεύσῃ· μάλα δὲ χρεὼ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς 75  
ἐσθλῆς καὶ πυκινῆς, ὅτι δήιοι ἐγγύθι νηῶν

καίουσιν πυρὰ πολλά· τίς ἂν τάδε γηθήσειεν;

νὺξ δ' ἦδ' ἡὲ διαρραΐσει στρατὸν ἡὲ σαώσει."

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύουν ἡδὲ πίθοντο·  
ἐκ δὲ φυλακτῆρες σὺν τεύχεσιν ἐσσεύοντο 80  
ἀμφί τε Νεστορίδην Θρασυμήδεα ποιμένα λαῶν  
ἡδ' ἀμφ' Ἀσκάλαφον καὶ Ἰάλμενον υἱὰς Ἀρηος,  
ἀμφί τε Μηριόνην Ἀφαρῆά τε Δηίπυρόν τε,  
ἡδ' ἀμφὶ Κρείοντος υἷον Λυκομήδεα δῖον.

ἔπτ' ἔσαν ἡγεμόνες φυλάκων, ἑκατὸν δὲ ἐκάστω 85  
κοῦροι ἅμα στεῖχον δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντες·  
καδ δὲ μέσον τάφρου καὶ τείχεος ἴζον ἰόντες·  
ἔνθα δὲ πῦρ κήαντο, τίθεντο δὲ δόρπα ἕκαστος.

Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ γέροντας ἀολλέας ἡγευ Ἀχαιῶν  
ἐς κλισίην, παρὰ δέ σφι τίθει μενοεικέα δαῖτα· 90  
οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱάλλον.

*Supper being ended, Nestor urges Agamemnon to  
conciliate Achilles.*

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
τοῖς ὁ γέρων πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο μῆτιν  
Νέστωρ, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή·  
ὃ σφιν εὖ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν· 95  
"Ἀτρεΐδη κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,  
ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι, οὐνεκα πολλῶν  
λαῶν ἐσσι ἄναξ καὶ τοι Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξεν  
σκήπτρόν τ' ἡδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βουλευήσθαι.  
τῷ σε χρὴ πέρι μὲν φάσθαι ἔπος ἡδ' ἐπακοῦσαι, 100  
κρηῆναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλω, ὅτ' ἂν τινα θυμὸς ἀνώγη  
εἰπεῖν εἰς ἀγαθόν· σέο δ' ἔξεται, ὅττι κεν ἄρχῃ.  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα.  
οὐ γάρ τις νόον ἄλλος ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοήσῃ,  
οἷον ἐγὼ νοέω, ἡμὲν πάλαι ἡδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, 105

ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ, ὅτε, διογενές, Βρισηίδα κούρην  
 χωομένου Ἀχιλλῆος ἔβης κλισίηθεν ἀπούρας  
 οὐ τι καθ' ἡμέτερόν γε νόον. μάλα γάρ τοι ἐγὼ γε  
 πόλλ' ἀπεμυθεόμην· σὺ δὲ σὼ μεγαλήτορι θυμῷ  
 εἷξας ἄνδρα φέριστον, ὃν ἀθάνατοί περ ἔτισαν, 110  
 ἡτίμησας· ἐλὼν γὰρ ἔχεις γέρας. ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
 φραζώμεσθ', ὥς κέν μιν ἀρεσσάμενοι πεπύθωμεν  
 δώροισιν τ' ἀγανοῖσιν ἔπεσσί τε μείλιχίοισιν."

*Agamemnon confesses his folly in wronging Achilles, and declares what amends he is willing to make: he will restore the maiden Briseis, and make many gifts as peace-offerings.*

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 "ὦ γέρον, οὐ τι ψεῦδος ἐμὰς ἄτας κατέλεξας. 115  
 ἀσάμην, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀναίνομαι. ἀντί νυ πολλῶν  
 λαῶν ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ, ὃν τε Ζεὺς κῆρι φιλήσῃ,  
 ὥς νῦν τοῦτον ἔτισε, δάμασσε δὲ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀσάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλέησι πιθήσας,  
 ἄψ' ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι δόμεναί τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα. 120  
 ὑμῖν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω,  
 ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,  
 αἶθωνας δὲ λέβητας εἴκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους  
 πηγούς ἀθλοφόρους, οἳ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄρουντο.  
 οὐ κεν ἀλῆιος εἶη ἀνὴρ, ὃς τόσσα γένοιτο, 125  
 οὐδέ κεν ἀκτῆμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο,  
 ὅσσα μοι ἠνείκαντο ἀέθλια μώνυχες ἵπποι.  
 δώσω δ' ἐπτὰ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας,  
 Λεσβίδας, ἧς, ὅτε Λέσβον ἐκτιμένην ἔλεν αὐτός,  
 ἐξελόμην, αἱ κάλλει ἐνίκων φύλα γυναικῶν· 130  
 τὰς μὲν οἱ δώσω, μετὰ δ' ἔσσεται, ἣν τότε ἀπηύρων,



κούρην Βρισηὺς· ἐπὶ δὲ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι  
 μή ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ἡδὲ μιγῆναι,  
 ἢ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει, ἀνδρῶν ἡδὲ γυναικῶν.  
 ταῦτα μὲν αὐτίκα πάντα παρέσσεται· εἰ δέ κεν αὖτε 135  
 ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο θεοὶ δώωσ' ἀλαπάξαι,  
 νῆα ἄλιν χρυσοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ νηυσάσθω  
 εἰσελθών, ὅτε κεν δατεώμεθα ληΐδ' Ἀχαιοί,  
 Τρωιάδας δὲ γυναικας ἐείκοσιν αὐτὸς ἐλέσθω,  
 αἶ' κε μετ' Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην κάλλισται ἔωσιν. 140  
 εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαικόν, οὐθαρ ἀρούρης,  
 γαμβρός κέν μοι ἔοι· τίσω δέ μιν ἴσον Ὀρέστη,  
 ὅς μοι τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλήῃ ἐνὶ πολλῇ.  
 τρεῖς δέ μοι εἰσὶ θυγάτρεις ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπήκτῳ,  
 Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα· 145  
 τῶν ἦν κ' ἐθέλῃσι, φίλῃν ἀνάεδνον ἀγέσθω  
 πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ μείλια δώσω  
 πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσ' οὐ πώ τις ἐῖ ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί.  
 ἐπτά δέ οἱ δώσω ἐν ναιόμενα πτολίεθρα,  
 Καρδαμύλην Ἐνόπην τε καὶ Ἴρην ποιήεσαν, 150  
 Φηράς τε Ζαθέας ἡδ' Ἀνθειαν βαθύλειμον,  
 καλὴν τ' Αἴπειαν καὶ Πήδασον ἀμπελόεσσαν.  
 πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλός, νέαται Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος·  
 ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται,  
 οἳ κέ ἐ δωτίνῃσι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσουσιν 155  
 καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ σκῆπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας.  
 ταῦτά κέ οἱ τελέσαιμι μεταλλήξαντι χόλοιο.  
 δμηθήτω, (Αἶδης τοι ἀμείλιχος ἡδ' ἀδάμαστος·  
 τούνεκα καὶ τε βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἔχθιστος ἀπάντων·)  
 καὶ μοι ὑποστήτω, ὅσσον βασιλεύτερός εἰμι 160  
 ἡδ' ὅσσον γενεῇ προγενέστερος εὖχομαι εἶναι."



*Nestor selects envoys to go and make known to Achilles the offer of Agamemnon. The Envoys go on their way and are entertained by Achilles.*

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·  
 “Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,  
 δῶρα μὲν οὐκέτ' ὄνοστὰ διδοῖς Ἀχιλλῇ ἄνακτι·  
 ἀλλ' ἄγετε, κλητοὺς ὀτρύνομεν, οἳ κε τάχιστα 165  
 ἔλθωσ' ἐς κλισίην Πηληιάδew Ἀχιλλῆος.  
 εἰ δ' ἄγε, τοὺς ἂν ἐγὼν ἐπιόψομαι, οἳ δὲ πιθέσθων.  
 Φοῖνιξ μὲν πρῶτιστα διίφιλος ἡγησάσθω,  
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' Αἴας τε μέγας καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 κηρύκων δ' Ὀδῖος τε καὶ Εὐρυβάτης ἅμ' ἐπέσθων. 170  
 φέρτε δὲ χερσὶν ὕδωρ, εὐφημῆσαί τε κέλεσθε,  
 ὅφρα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ ἀρησόμεθ', αἵ κ' ἐλεήσῃ.”

ὥς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ἐαδότα μῦθον ἔειπεν.  
 αὐτίκα κήρυκες μὲν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν,  
 κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο, 175  
 νώμησαν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σπείσαν τε πῖον θ', ὅσον ἤθελε θυμός,  
 ὥρμωντ' ἐκ κλισίης Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο.  
 τοῖσι δὲ πόλλ' ἐπέτελλε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ,  
 δεινδίλλων ἐς ἕκαστον, Ὀδυσσῇ δὲ μάλιστα, 180  
 πειρᾶν, ὥς πεπίθοιεν ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.

τὼ δὲ βάτην παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης  
 πολλὰ μάλ' εὐχομένω γαιήοχῳ ἐννοσιγαίῳ  
 ῥηιδίως πεπιθεῖν μεγάλας φρένας Αἰακίδαο.  
 Μυρμιδόνων δ' ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθην, 185  
 τὸν δ' εὖρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ,  
 καλῇ δαιδαλέῃ, ἐπὶ δ' ἀργύρεον ζυγὸν ἦεν·  
 τὴν ἄρετ' ἐξ ἐνάρων, πόλιν Ἡετίωνος ὀλέσσας·

τῇ ὃ γε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν, ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.  
Πάτροκλος δέ οἱ οἶος ἐναντίος ἦστο σιωπῇ, 190

δέγμενος Λιακίδην, ὅποτε λήξειεν αἰείδων.

τῷ δὲ βάτην προτέρω, ἡγείτο δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
στὰν δὲ πρόσθ' αὐτοῖο· ταφῶν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς  
αὐτῇ σὺν φόρμιγγι, λιπὼν ἔδος, εἴθα θάασσεν.

ὥς δ' αὐτως Πάτροκλος, ἐπεὶ ἶδε φῶτας, ἀνέστη. 195

τῷ καὶ δεικνύμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
“χαίρετον· ἦ φίλοι ἄνδρες ἰκάνετον, ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ,  
οἳ μοι σκυζομένῳ περ Ἀχαιῶν φίλτατοί ἐστον.”

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας προτέρω ἄγε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,  
εἶσεν δ' ἐν κλισμοῖσι τάπησί τε πορφυρέοισιν. 200

αἶψα δὲ Πάτροκλον προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἐόντα·

“μείζονα δὴ κρητῆρα, Μενoitίου υἱέ, καθίστα,  
ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε, δέπας δ' ἐντυνον ἐκάστω·  
οἳ γὰρ φίλτατοι ἄνδρες ἐμῷ ὑπέασι μελάθρῳ.”

ὥς φάτο, Πάτροκλος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπέθεθ' ἐταίρῳ. 205

αὐτὰρ ὃ γε κρεῖον μέγα κάββαλεν ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῇ,

ἐν δ' ἄρα νῶτον ἔθηκ' οἶος καὶ πίονος αἰγός,

ἐν δὲ συὸς σιάλιοι ράχιν τεθαλυῖαν ἀλοιφῇ.

τῷ δ' ἔχεν Λυτομέδων, τάμνεν δ' ἄρα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ μίστυλλε καὶ ἄμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειρεν, 210

πῦρ δὲ Μενoitιάδης δαῖεν μέγα, ἰσόθεος φῶς.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη,

ἀνθρακιὴν στορέσας ὀβελοὺς ἐφύπερθε τάνυσσεν,

πάσσε δ' ἄλὸς θείοιο, κρατευτάων ἐπαείρας.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὥπτησε καὶ εἰν ἐλεοῖσιν ἔχενεν, 215

Πάτροκλος μὲν σῖτον ἐλὼν ἐπένειμε τραπέξῃ

καλοῖς ἐν κανέοισιν, ἀτὰρ κρέα νεῖμεν Ἀχιλλεύς.

αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίον ἔζεν Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο

τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέροιο, θεοῖσι δὲ θῦσαι ἀνώγει

Πάτροκλον ὃν ἑταῖρον· ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς. 220  
οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνειάθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱάλλον.

*Odysseus, as spokesman of the envoys, tells Achilles of the  
evil plight of the Greek forces, implores him to relent,  
and rehearses Agamemnon's offer.*

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
νεῦσ' Αἴας Φοῖνικι· νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δείδεκτ' Ἀχιλλῆα·  
“χαῖρ', Ἀχιλεῦ· δαιτὸς μὲν εἰσης οὐκ ἐπιδευεῖς 225  
ἡμὲν ἐνὶ κλισίῃ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαιο  
ἥδὲ καὶ ἐνθάδε νῦν· πάρα γὰρ μενοεικέα πολλὰ  
δαίνυσθ'· ἄλλ' οὐ δαιτὸς ἐπηράτου ἔργα μέμηλεν,  
ἀλλὰ λῆν μέγα πῆμα, διοτρεφές, εἰσορόωντες  
δείδιμεν· ἐν δοιῇ δὲ σωσέμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι 230  
νῆας ἐυσσέλμους, εἰ μὴ σύ γε δύσεαι ἀλκὴν.  
ἐγγὺς γὰρ νηῶν καὶ τείχεος αὖλιν ἔθεντο  
Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι τηλεκλειτοὶ τ' ἐπίκουροι,  
κηάμενοι πυρὰ πολλὰ κατὰ στρατόν, οὐδ' ἔτι φασὶν  
σχήσεσθ', ἄλλ' ἐν νηυσὶ μελαίνησιν πεσέεσθαι. 235  
Ζεὺς δέ σφι Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων  
ἀστράπτει· Ἐκτωρ δὲ μέγα σθένει βλεμεαίνων  
μαίνεται ἐκπάγλως, πῖσυνος Διί, οὐδέ τι τίει  
ἀνέρας οὐδὲ θεούς· κρατερὴ δέ ἐ λύσσα δέδουκεν.  
ἀρᾶται δὲ τάχιστα φανήμεναι Ἡῶ διαν· 240  
στεῦται γὰρ νηῶν ἀποκόψειν ἄκρα κόρυμβα  
αὐτὰς τ' ἐμπρήσειν μαλεροῦ πυρός, αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὺς  
δηώσειν παρὰ τῇσιν ὀρινομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ.  
ταῦτ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα, μή οἱ ἀπειλὰς  
ἐκτελέσωσι θεοί, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ αἴσιμον εἶη 245  
φθίσθαι ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, ἐκὰς Ἀργεος ἵπποβότοιο.

ἄλλ' ἄνα, εἰ μέμονιάς γε καὶ ὄψέ περ υἷας Ἀχαιῶν  
 τειρομένους ἐρύεσθαι ὑπὸ Τρώων ὀρυμαγδοῦ.  
 αὐτῷ τοι μετόπισθ' ἄχος ἔσσεται, οὐδέ τι μῆχος  
 ῥεχθέντος κακοῦ ἔστ' ἄκος εὐρεῖν· ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὶν 250  
 φράζεαι, ὅπως Δαναοῖσιν ἀλεξήσεις κακὸν ἡμαρ.  
 ὦ πέπον, ἦ μὲν σοὶ γε πατὴρ ἐπετέλλετο Πηλεὺς  
 ἡματι τῷ, ὅτε σ' ἐκ Φθίης Ἀγαμέμνωνι πέμπεν·  
 'τέκνον ἐμόν, κάρτος μὲν Ἀθηναίῃ τε καὶ Ἥρῃ  
 δώσουσ', αἶ κ' ἐθέλωσι, σὺ δὲ μεγαλήτορα θυμὸν 255  
 ἴσχειν ἐν στήθεσσι· φιλοφροσύνη γὰρ ἀμείνων·  
 ληγέμεναι δ' ἔριδος κακομηχάνου, ὄφρα σε μᾶλλον  
 τίωσ' Ἀργείων ἡμὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες·  
 ὥς ἐπέτελλ' ὁ γέρων, σὺ δὲ λήθεται. ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
 παύε', ἕα δὲ χόλον θυμαλγέα· σοὶ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων 260  
 ἄξια δῶρα δίδωσι μεταλλήξαντι χόλοιο.  
 εἰ δὲ σὺ μὲν μὲν ἄκουσον, ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι καταλέξω,  
 ὅσσα τοι ἐν κλισίῃσιν ὑπέσχετο δῶρ' Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,  
 αἶθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἐείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους 265  
 πηγοὺς ἀθλοφόρους, οἳ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄρουτο.  
 οὐ κεν ἀλῆιος εἶη ἀνὴρ, ὃ τόσσα γένοιτο,  
 οὐδέ κεν ἀκτήμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο,  
 ὅσσ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἵπποι ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄρουτο.  
 δώσει δ' ἐπτὰ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας, 270  
 Λεσβίδας, ἅς, ὅτε Λέσβον ἐκτιμένην ἔλες αὐτός,  
 ἐξέλεθ', αἷ τότε κάλλει ἐνίκων φῦλα γυναικῶν·  
 τὰς μὲν τοι δώσει, μετὰ δ' ἔσσεται, ἣν τότε ἀπηγύρα,  
 κούρην Βρισηῆος· ἐπὶ δὲ μέγαν ὄρκοι ὁμείται  
 μή ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ἠδὲ μιγῆναι, 275  
 ἢ θέμις ἐστίν, ἄναξ, ἢ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἢ τε γυναικῶν.  
 ταῦτα μὲν αὐτίκα πάντα παρέσσεται· εἰ δέ κεν αὖτε

ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο θεοὶ δώωσ' ἀλαπάξαι,  
 νῆα ἅλῃς χρυσοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ νηήσασθαι  
 εἰσελθών, ὅτε κεν δατεώμεθα ληϊδ' Ἀχαιοί, 280  
 Τρωιάδας δὲ γυναῖκας ἐείκοσιν αὐτὸς ἐλέσθαι,  
 αἶ κε μετ' Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην κάλλισται ἔωσιν.  
 εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαιικόν, οὐθαρ ἀρούρης,  
 γαμβρός κέν οἱ ἔοις· τίσει δέ σε ἴσον Ὀρέστη,  
 ὅς οἱ τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλίῃ ἐνὶ πολλῇ. 285  
 τρεῖς δέ οἱ εἰσὶ θύγατρες ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ ἐνπῆκτῳ,  
 Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα·  
 τῶν ἦν κ' ἐθέλησθα, φίλην ἀνάεδνον ἄγεσθαι  
 πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος· ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἐπὶ μείλια δώσει  
 πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσς' οὐ πώ τις ἐῖν ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί. 290  
 ἐπτα δέ τοι δώσει ἐν ναιόμενα πτολίεθρα,  
 Καρδαμύλην Ἐνόπην τε καὶ Ἴρην ποιήεσαν,  
 Φηράς τε ζαθέας ἡδ' Ἀνθειαν βαθύλειμον,  
 καλήν τ' Αἴπειαν καὶ Πήδασον ἀμπελόεσσαν.  
 πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλός, νέαται Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος· 295  
 ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται,  
 οἳ κέ σε δωτίνησι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσουσιν  
 καὶ τοι ὑπὸ σκῆπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας.  
 ταῦτά κέ τοι τελέσειε μεταλλήξαντι χόλοιο.  
 εἰ δέ τοι Ἀτρεΐδης μὲν ἀπήχθετο κηρόθι μᾶλλον, 300  
 αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ δῶρα, σὺ δ' ἄλλους περ Παναχαιοὺς  
 τειρομένους ἐλέαιρε κατὰ στρατόν, οἳ σε θεὸν ὥς  
 τίσουσ'· ἥ γάρ κέ σφι μάλα μέγα κῦδος ἄροιο.  
 νῦν γάρ χ' Ἐκτορ' ἔλοισ, ἐπεὶ ἂν μάλα τοι σχεδὸν ἔλθοι  
 λύσσαν ἔχων ὀλοήν, ἐπεὶ οὐ τινά φησιν ὁμοῖον 305  
 οἷ ἔμεναι Δαναῶν, οὓς ἐνθάδε νῆες ἔνεικαν.”



*Achilles rejects the offer, inveighs against the injuries done to him after all his services, and announces his intention to sail away next day, and to fight no more.*

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
 “διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
 χρὴ μὲν δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν,  
 ἧ περ δὴ φρονέω τε καὶ ὥς τετελεσμένον ἔσται, 310  
 ὥς μή μοι τρῦζήτε παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος.  
 ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀίδαο πύλῃσιν,  
 ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ εἵπῃ.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα·  
 οὔτ' ἐμέ γ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα πεισέμεν οἶω 315  
 οὔτ' ἄλλους Δαναούς, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦεν  
 μάρνασθαι δηίοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι νωλεμέσ αἰεὶ.  
 ἴση μοῖρα μένοντι, καὶ εἰ μάλα τις πολεμίζει·  
 ἐν δὲ ἰῇ τιμῇ ἡμὲν κακὸς ἡδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός·  
 [κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὃ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὃ τε πολλὰ ἐοργώς.] 320  
 οὔδέ τί μοι περίκειται, ἐπεὶ πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ  
 αἰὲν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος πολεμίζειν.  
 ὥς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῇσι νεοσσοῖσι προφέρῃσιν  
 μάστακ', ἐπεὶ κε λάβῃσι, κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλει αὐτῇ,  
 ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ πολλὰς μὲν ἀύπνους νύκτας ἴανον, 325  
 ἡμᾶτα δ' αἱματόεντα διέπρησσον πολεμίζων,  
 ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενος ὀάρων ἔνεκα σφετεράων.  
 δώδεκα δὴ σὺν νηυσὶ πόλεις ἀλάπαξ' ἀνθρώπων·  
 πεζὸς δ' ἑνδεκά φημι κατὰ Τροίην ἐρίβωλον·  
 τῶν ἐκ πασέων κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ 330  
 ἐξελόμην, καὶ πάντα φέρων Ἀγαμέμνονι δόσκον  
 Ἀτρεΐδῃ· ὁ δ' ὀπισθε μένων παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῇσιν  
 δεξιόμενος διὰ παῦρα δασάσκετο, πολλὰ δ' ἔχεσκεν·



ἄλλα δ' ἄριστήεσσι δίδου γέρα καὶ βασιλεύσιν·  
 τοῖσι μὲν ἔμπεδα κεῖται, ἐμεῦ δ' ἀπὸ μούνου Ἀχαιῶν 335  
 εἴλετ', ἔχει δ' ἄλοχον θυμαρέα· τῇ παριαύων  
 τερπέσθω. τί δὲ δεῖ πολεμιζέμεναι Τρώεσσιν  
 Ἀργείους; τί δὲ λαὸν ἀνήγαγεν ἐνθάδ' ἀγείρας  
 Ἀτρεΐδης; ἦ οὐχ' Ἑλένης ἔνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο;  
 ἦ μοῦνοι φιλέουσ' ἀλόχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων 340  
 Ἀτρεΐδαι; ἐπεὶ ὅς τις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐχέφρων,  
 ἦν αὐτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κήδεται, ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν  
 ἐκ θυμοῦ φίλεον, δουρικτητὴν περ ἐοῦσαν.  
 νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκ χειρῶν γέρας εἴλετο καὶ μ' ἀπάτησεν,  
 μή μεν πειράτω ἐν εἰδότος· οὐδέ με πείσει. 345  
 ἀλλ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, σὺν σοί τε καὶ ἄλλοισιν βασιλεύσιν  
 φραζέσθω νήεσσιν ἀλεξέμεναι δῆιον πῦρ.  
 ἦ μὲν δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πονήσατο νόσφιν ἐμεῖο,  
 καὶ δὴ τείχος ἔδειμε καὶ ἤλασε τάφρον ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 εὐρεΐαν μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξεν· 350  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς δύναται σθένος Ἐκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο  
 ἴσχειν. ὄφρα δ' ἐγὼ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν πολέμιζον,  
 οὐκ ἐθέλεσκε μάχην ἀπὸ τείχεος ὀρνύμεν Ἐκτωρ,  
 ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐς Σκαιάς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκανεν·  
 ἔνθα ποτ' οἶον ἔμιμνε, μόγις δέ μεν ἔκφυγεν ὀρμήν. 355  
 νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐθέλω πολεμιζέμεν Ἐκτορι δίῳ,  
 αὔριον ἰρὰ Διὶ ῥέξας καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,  
 νηήσας ἐν νῆας, ἐπὴν ἄλαδε προερεύσσω,  
 ὄψεαι, ἦν ἐθέλῃσθα καὶ αἶ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη,  
 ἦρι μάλ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα πλεύσας 360  
 νῆας ἐμάς, ἐν δ' ἄνδρας ἐρεσσέμεναι μεμαῶτας·  
 εἰ δέ κεν εὐπλοίην δώῃ κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος,  
 ἡματί κε τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἰκοίμην.  
 ἔστι δέ μοι μάλα πολλὰ, τὰ κάλλιπον ἐνθάδε ἔρρων·

ἄλλον δ' ἐνθένδε χρυσὸν καὶ χαλκὸν ἐρυθρὸν 365  
 ἠδὲ γυναῖκας ἐυζώνους πολίων τε σίδηρον  
 ἄξομαι, ἅσθ' ἔλαχόν γε· γέρας δέ μοι, ὅς περ ἔδωκεν,  
 αὐτὶς ἐφυβρίζων ἔλετο κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 Ἀτρεΐδης. τῷ πάντ' ἀγορευέμεν, ὥς ἐπιτέλλω,  
 ἀμφαδόν, ὅφρα καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπισκύζωνται Ἀχαιοί, 370  
 εἴ τινα που Δαναῶν ἔτι ἔλπεται ἑξαπατήσειν,  
 αἶν ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένος. οὐδ' ἂν ἐμοί γε  
 τετλαίῃ κύνεός περ ἐὼν εἰς ὦπα ἰδέσθαι·  
 οὐδέ τί οἱ βουλὰς συμφράσσομαι, οὐδὲ μὲν ἔργον·  
 ἐκ γὰρ δὴ μ' ἀπάτησε καὶ ἤλιτεν· οὐδ' ἂν ἔτ' αὐτὶς 375  
 ἑξαπάφοιτ' ἐπέεσσιν· ἄλις δέ οἱ. ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος  
 ἐρρέτω· ἐκ γάρ εὖ φρένας εἴλετο μητίετα Ζεὺς.  
 ἐχθρὰ δέ μοι τοῦ δῶρα, τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ.  
 οὐδ' εἴ μοι δεκάκις τε καὶ εἰκοσάκις τόσα δοίῃ,  
 ὅσσα τέ οἱ νῦν ἔστι, καὶ εἴ ποθεν ἄλλα γένοιτο, 380  
 οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσσεται, οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας  
 Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,  
 αἴ θ' ἑκατόμπυλοὶ εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἂν' ἐκάστας  
 ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεύσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν·  
 οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίῃ, ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε, 385  
 οὐδέ κεν ὥς ἔτι θυμὸν ἐμὸν πείσει' Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 πρίν γ' ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἐμοὶ δόμεναι θυμαλγέα λῶβην.  
 κούρην δ' οὐ γαμέω Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο,  
 οὐδ' εἰ χρυσεῖῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ κάλλος ἐρίζοι,  
 ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίῃ γλαυκῶπιδι ἰσοφαρίζοι, 390  
 οὐδέ μιν ὥς γαμέω· ὁ δ' Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλον ἐλέσθω.  
 ὅς τις οἶ τ' ἐπέοικε καὶ ὃς βασιλεύτερός ἐστιν.  
 ἦν γὰρ δὴ με σώωσι θεοὶ καὶ οὔκαδ' ἴκωμαι,  
 Πηλεὺς θήν μοι ἔπειτα γυναῖκα γαμέσσεται αὐτός.  
 πολλαὶ Ἀχαιίδες εἰσὶν ἂν' Ἑλλάδα τε Φθίην τε, 395

κοῦραι ἀριστήων, οἳ τε πτολίεθρα ῥύονται·  
 τάων ἦν κ' ἐθέλωμι, φίλην ποιήσομ' ἄκοιτιν.  
 ἔνθα δέ μοι μάλα πολλὸν ἐπέσσυτο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ  
 γήμαντι μνηστὴν ἄλοχον, εἰκυῖαν ἄκοιτιν,  
 κτήμασι τέρπεσθαι, τὰ γέρων ἐκτήσατο Πηλεΐδης. 400  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ψυχῆς ἀντάξιον οὐδ' ὅσα φασὶν  
 Ἴλιον ἐκτῆσθαι, εὐ ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον,  
 τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,  
 οὐδ' ὅσα λάϊνος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐν γόσσι ἔεργει,  
 Φοῖβου Ἀπόλλωνος, Πυθοῖ ἐνὶ πετρῆεσσι. 405  
 ληιστοὶ μὲν γάρ τε βόες καὶ ἵφια μῆλα,  
 κτητοὶ δὲ τρίποδες τε καὶ ἵππων ξανθὰ κάρηνα·  
 ἀνδρὸς δὲ ψυχὴ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν οὔτε λείσστη  
 οὔθ' ἐλετή, ἐπεὶ ἄρ κεν ἀμείψεται ἔρκος ὀδόντων.  
 μήτηρ γάρ τέ μέ φησι θεά, Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα, 410  
 διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλοσδε.  
 εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,  
 ὤλετο μὲν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται·  
 εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,  
 ὤλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν 415  
 ἔσσεται, οὐδέ κέ μ' ὦκα τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη.  
 καὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοισιν ἐγὼ παραμυθησαίμην  
 οἴκαδ' ἀποπλείειν, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι δῆτε τέκμωρ  
 Ἰλίου αἰπεινῆς· μάλα γάρ ἐθεν εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
 χεῖρα ἔην ὑπερέσχε, τεθαρσῆκασι δὲ λαοί. 420  
 ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ἰόντες ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἀγγελίην ἀπόφασθε—τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων—,  
 ὄφρ' ἄλλην φράζωνται ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μῆτιν ἀμείνω,  
 ἥ κέ σφιν νῆάς τε σόη καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν  
 νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφισιν ἦδε γ' ἐτοίμη, 425  
 ἦν νῦν ἐφράσσαντο, ἐμεῦ ἀπομηνίσαντος.

Φοῖνιξ δ' αὖθι παρ' ἄμμι μένων κατακοιμηθήτω,  
 ὄφρα μοι ἐν νήεσσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἔπηται  
 αὖριον, ἣν ἐθέλῃσιν· ἀνάγκη δ' οὐ τί μιν ἄξω."

ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ 430  
 μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀπέειπεν.

*Phoenix, having been bidden by Achilles to abide with him that night and to sail home next day, recalls to mind how Peleus had committed Achilles to his care, and refuses to be parted from Achilles whether he stay or go. But he urges him to relent.*

ὄψ' ἐδὲ δὴ μετέειπε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ  
 δάκρυ' ἀναπρήσας· περὶ γὰρ δῖε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν·  
 "εἰ μὲν δὴ νόστον γε μετὰ φρεσί, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
 βάλλεαι, οὐδέ τι πάμπαν ἀμύνειν νηυσὶ θεοῖσιν 435  
 πῦρ ἐθέλεις αἰδέηλον, ἐπεὶ χόλος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ,  
 πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σείο, φίλον τέκος, αὖθι λιποίμην,  
 οἷος; σοὶ δέ μ' ἔπεμπε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς  
 ἥματι τῷ, ὅτε σ' ἐκ Φθίης Ἀγαμέμνονι πέμπεν  
 νήπιον, οὐ πω εἰδόθ' ὁμοίου πτολέμοιο 440  
 οὐδ' ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπέες τελέθουσιν·  
 τοῦνεκά με προέηκε, διδασκόμεναι τάδε πάντα,  
 μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.  
 ὥς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σείο, φίλον τέκος, οὐκ ἐθέλωμι  
 λείπεσθ', οὐδ' εἴ κέν μοι ὑποσταίῃ θεὸς αὐτὸς 445  
 γῆρας ἀποξύσας θήσειν νέον ἡβώοντα,  
 οἷον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,  
 φεύγων νείκεα πατρὸς Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο,  
 ὅς μοι παλλακίδος περιχώσατο καλλικόμοιο,  
 τὴν αὐτὸς φιλέεσκεν, ἀτιμάζεσκε δ' ἄκοιτιν, 450

μητέρ' ἐμήν· ἦ δ' αἶν ἐμὲ λισσέσκετο γούνων  
 παλλακίδι προμιγῆναι, ἵν' ἐχθήρειε γέροντα.  
 τῇ πιθόμην καὶ ἔρεξα· πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς αὐτίκ' οἰσθεὶς  
 πολλὰ κατηράτο, στυγεράς δ' ἐπεκέκλετ' Ἑρινὺς,  
 μή ποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἱὸν 455  
 ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα· θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαράς,  
 Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια.  
 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ βούλευσα κατακτῖμεν ὅξεί χαλκῷ·  
 ἀλλὰ τις ἀθανάτων παῦσεν χόλον, ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 δήμου θῆκε φάτιν καὶ ὀνειδέα πόλλ' ἀνθρώπων, 460  
 ὥς μὴ πατροφόνος μετ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν καλεοίμην.  
 ἔνθ' ἐμοὶ οὐκέτι πάμπαν ἐρητύετ' ἐν φρεσὶ θυμὸς  
 πατρὸς χωομένοιο κατὰ μέγαρα στρωφᾶσθαι.  
 ἦ μὲν πολλὰ ἔται καὶ ἀνεψιοὶ ἀμφὶς ἐόντες  
 αὐτοῦ λισσόμενοι κατερήτυον ἐν μεγάροισιν, 465  
 πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς  
 ἔσφαζον, πολλοὶ δὲ σύες θαλέθοντες ἀλοιφῇ  
 εὐόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἥφαιστοιο,  
 πολλὸν δ' ἐκ κεράμων μέθυ πίνετο τοῖο γέροντος.  
 εἰνάνυχες δέ μοι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ παρὰ νύκτας ἵαυον· 470  
 οἱ μὲν ἀμειβόμενοι φυλακὰς ἔχον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἔσβη  
 πῦρ, ἕτερον μὲν ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ· ἑυερκέος αὐλῆς,  
 ἄλλο δ' ἐνὶ προδόμῳ, πρόσθεν θαλάμοιο θυράων.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη μοι ἐπήλυθε νύξ ἐρεβεννή,  
 καὶ τότε ἐγὼ θαλάμοιο θύρας πυκινῶς ἀραρυίας 475  
 ῥήξας ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ὑπέρθορον ἐρκίον αὐλῆς  
 ῥεῖα, λαθὼν φύλακας τ' ἄνδρας δμῳάς τε γυναῖκας.  
 φεύγον ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε δι' Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόροιο,  
 Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ἐριβώλακα, μητέρα μήλων,  
 ἐς Πηλῆα ἄναχθ'· ὁ δέ με πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο, 480  
 καὶ με φίλησ', ὥς εἴ τε πατήρ ὃν παῖδα φιλήσῃ



μῦνονι τηλύγετον πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσιν,  
 καὶ μὲν ἄφνειον ἔθηκε, πολὺν δέ μοι ὥπασε λαόν·  
 ναῖον δ' ἐσχατιὴν Φθίης Δολόπεσσιν ἀνάσσω.  
 καὶ σε τοσοῦτον ἔθηκα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, 485  
 ἐκ θυμοῦ φιλέων, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐθέλεσκες ἄμ' ἄλλω  
 οὔτ' ἐς δαῖτ' ἵεναι οὔτ' ἐν μεγάροισι πάσασθαι,  
 πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γούνεσσι καθίσσας  
 ὄψου τ' ἄσαιμι προταμῶν καὶ οἶνον ἐπισχών.  
 πολλάκι μοι κατέδευσας ἐπὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα 490  
 οἴνου ἀποβλύζων ἐν νηπιέῃ ἀλεγεινῇ.  
 ὥς ἐπὶ σοὶ μάλα πολλὰ πάθον καὶ πολλὰ μόγησα,  
 τὰ φρονέων, ὅ μοι οὐ τι θεοὶ γόνον ἐξετέλειον  
 ἐξ ἐμεῦ· ἀλλὰ σὲ παῖδα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
 ποιεύμην, ἵνα μοί ποτ' ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμύνης. 495  
 ἀλλ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, δάμασον θυμὸν μέγαν· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ  
 νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχειν· στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,  
 τῶν περ καὶ μείζων ἀρετὴ τιμὴ τε βίη τε·  
 καὶ μὲν τοὺς θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχολῆς ἀγανῆσιν  
 λοιβῇ τε κνίσῃ τε παρατρωπῶσ' ἀνθρώποι 500  
 λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῇ καὶ ἀμάρτη.

*Phoenix continuing relates the allegory of the 'Prayers, daughters of Zeus,' and pleads that now is the time for reconciliation.*

καὶ γάρ τε λιταί εἰσι Διὸς κούραι μέγαλοιο,  
 χωλαί τε ῥυσαί τε παραβλῶπές τ' ὀφθαλμῷ,  
 αἷ ῥά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιούσαι.  
 ἢ δ' ἄτη σθεναρὴ τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὐνεκα πάσας 505  
 πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν  
 βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους· αἱ δ' ἐξακέονται ὀπίσσω.  
 ὃς μὲν τ' αἰδέσεται κούρας Διὸς ἄσπον λούσας,



τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καὶ τ' ἔκλυον εὐχομένοιο·  
 ὃς δέ κ' ἀνήνηται καὶ τε στερεῶς ἀποείπη, 510  
 λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε Δία Κρονίωνα κιούσαι  
 τῷ ἄτην ἅμ' ἔπεσθαι, ἵνα βλαφθεὶς ἀποτίσῃ.  
 ἀλλ', Ἀχιλεῦ, πόρε καὶ σὺ Διὸς κούρησιν ἔπεσθαι  
 τιμὴν, ἥ τ' ἄλλων περ ἐπιγνάμπει νόον ἐσθλῶν.  
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ δῶρα φέροι, τὰ δ' ὅπισθ' ὀνομάζοι 515  
 Ἀτρεΐδης, ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἐπιζαφελῶς χαλεπαῖνοι,  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ γέ σε μῆνιν ἀπορρίψαντα κελοίμην  
 Ἀργείοισιν ἀμυνέμεναι, χατέουσί περ ἔμψης·  
 νῦν δ' ἅμα τ' αὐτίκα πολλὰ διδοῖ, τὰ δ' ὅπισθεν ὑπέστη,  
 ἄνδρας δὲ λίσσεσθαι ἐπιπροέηκεν ἀρίστους 520  
 κρινάμενος κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαικόν, οἳ τε σοὶ αὐτῷ  
 φίλτατοι Ἀργείων· τῶν μὴ σύ γε μῦθον ἐλέγξης  
 μηδὲ πόδας· πρὶν δ' οὗ τι νεμεσσητὸν κεχολῶσθαι.

*Phoenix proceeding recounts the story of Meleager and of the  
 siege of Calydon as a warning against excessive obduracy  
 in wrath. Now is the moment for honourable recon-  
 ciliation.*

οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν  
 ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι· 525  
 δωρητοί τ' ἐπέλουντο παράρρητοί τ' ἐπέεσσιν.  
 μέμνημαι τόδε ἔργον ἐγὼ πάλαι, οὗ τι νέον γε,  
 ὥς ἦν· ἐν δ' ὑμῖν ἐρέω πάντεσσι φίλοισιν.  
 Κουρήτες τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι  
 ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καλυδῶνα καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐνάριζον, 530  
 Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς,  
 Κουρήτες δὲ διαπραθέειν μεμαῶτες Ἄρηι.  
 καὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κακὸν χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις ὤρσεν  
 χωσαμένη, ὃ οἱ οὗ τι θαλύσια γουνῶ ἀλῶῃς

Οἰνεὺς ῥέξ', ἄλλοι δὲ θεοὶ δαίνυνθ' ἐκατόμβας· 535  
 οἷη δ' οὐκ ἔρρεξε Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο·  
 ἦ λάθεται ἦ οὐκ ἐνόησεν· ἀάσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ.  
 ἦ δὲ χολωσαμένη δῖον γένος ἰοχέαιρα  
 ὤρσεν ἔπι, χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα,  
 ὃς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν ἔθων Οἰνῆος ἀλωήν· 540  
 πολλὰ δ' ὃ γε προθέλυμνα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ  
 αὐτῇσιν ῥίξῃσι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι μήλων.  
 τὸν δ' υἱὸς Οἰνῆος ἀπέκτεινεν Μελέαγρος,  
 πολλέων ἐκ πολίων θηρήτορας ἄνδρας ἀγείρας  
 καὶ κύνας· οὐ μὲν γάρ κε δάμη παύροισι βροτοῖσιν· 545  
 τύσσος ἔην, πολλοὺς δὲ πυρῆς ἐπέβησ' ἀλεγεινῆς.  
 ἦ δ' ἀμφ' αὐτῷ θῆκε πολὺν κέλαδον καὶ αὐτὴν,  
 ἀμφὶ συὸς κεφαλῇ καὶ δέρματι λαχνήνenti,  
 Κουρήτων τε μεσηγὺ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν μεγαθύμων.  
 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν Μελέαγρος ἀρηίφιλος πολέμιζεν, 550  
 τόφρα δὲ Κουρήτεσσι κακῶς ἦν, οὐδὲ δύναντο  
 τείχεος ἔκτοσθεν μίμνειν πολέες περ ἑόντες·  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Μελέαγρον ἔδυ χόλος, ὃς τε καὶ ἄλλων  
 οἰδάνει ἐν στήθεσσι νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων,  
 ἦ τοι ὁ μητρὶ φίλῃ Ἀλθαίῃ χωόμενος κῆρ 555  
 κεῖτο παρὰ μνηστῇ ἀλόχῳ, καλῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ,  
 κούρῃ Μαρπήσσης καλλισφύρου Εὐηνίης  
 Ἰδεῶ θ', ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένητ' ἀνδρῶν  
 τῶν τότε, καὶ ῥα ἄνακτος ἐναντίον εἴλετο τόξον  
 Φοῖβου Ἀπόλλωνος καλλισφύρου εἵνεκα νύμφης· 560  
 τὴν δὲ τότ' ἐν μεγάροισι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ  
 Ἀλκυόνην καλέεσκον ἐπώνυμον, οὔνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῆς  
 μῆτηρ ἀλκυόνος πολυπενθέος οἶτον ἔχουσα  
 κλαῖ', ὅτε μιν ἐκάεργος ἀνῆρπασε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.  
 τῇ ὃ γε παρκατέλεκτο χόλον θυμαλγέα πέσσω, 565

ἐξ ἀρέων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος, ἥ ῥα θεοῖσιν  
 πόλλ' ἀχέουσ' ἡρᾶτο κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο,  
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία  
 κικλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν,  
 πρύχην καθέζομένη, δεύοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι, 570  
 παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον· τῆς δ' ἡεροφοῖτις Ἐρινὺς  
 ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἑρέβесφιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.  
 τῶν δὲ τάχ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ὄμαδος καὶ δοῦπος ὀρώρειν  
 πύργων βαλλομένων· τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες  
 Αἰτωλῶν, πέμπον δὲ θεῶν ἱερῆας ἀρίστους, 575  
 ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ἀμῦναι, ὑποσχόμενοι μέγα δῶρον·  
 ὀππόθι πιότατον πεδῖον Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς,  
 ἔνθα μιν ἦνωγον τέμενος περικαλλὲς ἐλέσθαι  
 πεντηκοντόγυον, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ οἶνοπέδοιο,  
 ἥμισυ δὲ ψιλὴν ἄροσιν πεδίοιο ταμέσθαι. 580  
 πολλὰ δέ μιν λιτάνευε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Οἶνεύς,  
 οὐδοῦ ἐπεμβεβαὼς ὑψηρεφέος θαλάμοιο  
 σείων κολλητὰς σανίδας, γουνούμενος υἱόν·  
 πολλὰ δὲ τὸν γε κασίγνηται καὶ πότνια μήτηρ  
 ἐλλίσσονθ'· ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναίνετο· πολλὰ δ' ἐταῖροι, 585  
 οἳ οἱ κεδνότατοι καὶ φίλτατοι ἦσαν ἀπάντων·  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς τοῦ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθον,  
 πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ θάλαμος πύκ' ἐβάλλετο, τοῖ δ' ἐπὶ πύργων  
 βαῖνον Κουρήτες καὶ ἐνέπρηθον μέγα ἄστυ.  
 καὶ τότε δὴ Μελέαγρον εὐζωνος παράκοιτις 590  
 λίσσεται ὀδυρομένη, καὶ οἱ κατέλεξεν ἅπαντα  
 κῆδ' ὅσ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει, τῶν ἄστυ ἀλώῃ·  
 ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,  
 τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας.  
 τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἀκούοντος κακὰ ἔργα, 595  
 βῆ δ' ἰέναι, χροὸ δ' ἔντε' ἐδύσετο παμφανόωντα.

ὥς ὁ μὲν Λίτωλοῖσιν ἀπήμυνεν κακὸν ἡμαρ  
 εἶξας ᾧ θυμῷ· τῷ δ' οὐκέτι δῶρα τέλεσσαν  
 πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα, κακὸν δ' ἤμυνε καὶ αὖτως.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μή τοι ταῦτα νόει φρεσί, μηδέ σε δαίμων 600  
 ἐνταῦθα τρέψειε, φίλος· κᾶκιον δέ κεν εἴη  
 νηυσὶν καιομένησιν ἀμυνέμεν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δώροις  
 ἔρχεο· ἴσον γάρ σε θεῷ τίσουσιν Ἀχαιοί·  
 εἰ δέ κ' ἄτερ δώρων πόλεμον φθισήνορα δύης,  
 οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσσαι, πόλεμόν περ ἀλαλκῶν.” 605

*Achilles bids Phoenix not to plead with him further. As a hint to the other envoys to depart, he signs to Patroclus to spread a couch for Phoenix. Ajax, preparing to go, chides Achilles for his obduracy.*

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
 “Φοῖνιξ, ἄττα γεραίέ, διοτρεφές, οὐ τί με ταύτης  
 χρεὼ τιμῆς, (φρονέω δὲ τετιμῆσθαι Διὸς αἴσῃ),  
 ἢ μ' ἔξει παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, εἰς ὃ κ' αὐτμὴ  
 ἐν στήθεσσι μένη καί μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη. 610  
 ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσιν·  
 μή μοι σίγχει θυμὸν ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων,  
 Ἀτρεΐδῃ ἥρωι φέρων χάριν· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ  
 τὸν φιλέειν, ἵνα μή μοι ἀπέχθῃαι φιλέοντι.  
 καλὸν τοι σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν κήδειν, ὅς κ' ἐμὲ κήδη. 615  
 ἴσον ἐμοὶ βασίλευε καὶ ἥμισυ μείρεο τιμῆς.  
 οὗτοι δ' ἀγγελεύουσι, σὺ δ' αὐτόθι λέξεο μίμνων  
 εὐνῇ ἐνὶ μαλακῇ· ἅμα δ' ἡοῖ φαινομένηφιν  
 φρασσόμεθ', ἢ κε νεώμεθ' ἐφ' ἡμέτερ', ἢ κε μένωμεν.”  
 ἢ καὶ Πατρόκλῳ ὃ γ' ἐπ' ὑφρῦσι νεῦσε σιωπῇ 620  
 Φοῖνικι στορέσαι πυκινὸν λέχος, ὕφρα τάχιστα

ἐκ κλισίης νόστοιο μεδοίατο. τοῖσι δ' ἄρ' Αἴας  
 ἀντίθεος Τελαμωνιάδης μετὰ μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 “διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
 ἴομεν· οὐ γάρ μοι δοκέει μῦθοιο τελευτῇ 625  
 τῇδὲ γ' ὁδῷ κρανεέσθαι· ἀπαγγεῖλαι δὲ τάχιστα  
 χρὴ μῦθον Δαναοῖσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν περ ἑόντα,  
 οἳ πού νῦν ἔσται ποτιδέγμενοι. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς  
 ἄγριον ἐν στήθεσσι θέτο μεγαλήτορα θυμόν,  
 σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ μετατρέπεται φιλότῃτος ἐταίρων 630  
 τῆς, ἣ μιν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτίομεν ἔξοχον ἄλλων,  
 νηλὴς· καὶ μὲν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φονῆς  
 ποινὴν ἣ οὐ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθυηῶτος·  
 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ, πόλλ' ἀποτίσας,  
 τοῦ δέ τ' ἐρητύεται κραδίῃ καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ 635  
 ποινὴν δεξαμένῳ. σοὶ δ' ἄλληκτόν τε κακόν τε  
 θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι θεοὶ θέσαν εἵνεκα κούρης  
 οἴης. νῦν δέ τοι ἐπτὰ παρίσχομεν ἔξοχ' ἀρίστας  
 ἄλλα τε πόλλ' ἐπὶ τῇσι· σὺ δ' ἴλαον ἔνθεο θυμόν,  
 αἶδεσσαι δὲ μέλαθρον· ὑπωρόφιοι δέ τοι εἵμεν 640  
 πληθὺς ἐκ Δαναῶν, μέμαμεν δέ τοι ἔξοχον ἄλλων  
 κήδιστοί τ' ἔμεναι καὶ φίλτατοι, ὅσοι Ἀχαιοί.”

*Achilles repeats his refusal to be reconciled with Agamemnon.*

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
 “Αἴαν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,  
 πάντα τί μοι κατὰ θυμόν ἐείσαο μυθήσασθαι· 645  
 ἀλλὰ μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίῃ χόλῳ, ὅππότε' ἐκείνων  
 μνήσομαι, ὥς μ' ἀσύφηλον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν  
 Ἀτρεΐδης ὥς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην.  
 ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἔρχεσθε καὶ ἀγγελίην ἀπόφασθε·



οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι αἱματόεντος, 650  
 πρὶν γ' υἷδν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, "Ἐκτορα δῖον,  
 Μυρμιδόνων ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθαι  
 κτείνοντ' Ἀργείους, κατὰ τε σμῦξαι πυρὶ νῆας.  
 ἀμφὶ δέ τοι τῇ ἐμῇ κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ  
 "Ἐκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι ὀίω." 655

*Phoenix remains to sleep in the tent of Achilles; the other  
 envoys return to Agamemnon, and Odysseus reports  
 Achilles' refusal.*

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δὲ ἕκαστος ἐλὼν δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον  
 σπείσαντες παρὰ νῆας ἴσαν πάλιν· ἦρχε δ' Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 Πάτροκλος δ' ἐτάροισιν ἰδὲ δμῳῇσι κέλευσεν  
 Φοῖνικι στορέσαι πυκινὸν λέχος ὅττι τάχιστα.  
 αἱ δ' ἐπιπειθόμεναι στόρεσαν λέχος, ὥς ἐκέλευσεν, 660  
 κῶεά τε ῥῆγός τε λίνιοί τε λεπτὸν ἄωτον.  
 ἔνθ' ὁ γέρων κατέλεκτο καὶ Ἡῶ δι' ἄν ἔμιμνεν  
 αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς εὖδε μυχῶ κλισίῃς ἐνπῆκτον·  
 τῷ δ' ἄρα παρκατέλεκτο γυνή, τὴν Λεσβόθεν ἦγεν,  
 Φόρβαντος θυγάτηρ Διομήδη καλλιπάρῃος. 665  
 Πάτροκλος δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐλέξατο· παρ δ' ἄρα καὶ τῷ  
 Ἴφιδι ἐύζωνος, τὴν οἱ πόρε δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς  
 Σκύρον ἐλὼν αἰπείαν, Ἐνυῆος πτολίεθρον.

οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ κλισίῃσιν ἐν Ἀτρεΐδαο γέγοντο,  
 τοὺς μὲν ἄρα χρυσεόισι κυπέλλοις υἷες Ἀχαιῶν 670  
 δειδέχατ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἀνασταδόν, ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο·  
 πρῶτος δ' ἐξερέεινεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 "εἴπ' ἄγε μ', ὦ πολύαιν' Ὀδυσσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ἢ ῥ' ἐθέλει νήεσσιν ἀλεξέμεναι δήιον πῦρ,  
 ἢ ἀπέειπε, χόλος δ' ἔτ' ἔχει μεγάλητορα θυμόν;" 675  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·



“Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,  
 κείνός γ’ οὐκ ἐθέλει σβέσσαι χόλον, ἀλλ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 πιμπλάνεται μένεος, σὲ δ’ ἀναίνεται ἡδὲ σὰ δῶρα.  
 αὐτόν σε φράζεσθαι ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄνωγεν, 680  
 ὅπως κεν νῆάς τε σόῃς καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν·  
 αὐτὸς δ’ ἠπείλησεν ἱμ’ ἡοὶ φαινομένηφιν  
 νῆας ἐυστέλμους ἱλαδ’ ἐλκόμεν ἀμφιελίσσας.  
 καὶ δ’ ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοισιν ἔφη παραμυθήσασθαι  
 οἵκαδ’ ἀποπλείειν, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι δῆτε τέκμωρ 685  
 Ἰλίου αἰπεινῆς· μάλα γάρ ἐθεν εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
 χεῖρα ἐὼν ὑπερέσχε, τεθαρσήκασι δὲ λαοί.  
 ὥς ἔφατ’· εἰσὶ καὶ οἶδε τάδ’ εἰπέμεν, οἳ μοι ἔποντο,  
 Αἴας καὶ κήρυκε δύω, πεπνυμένω ἄμφω.  
 Φοῖνιξ δ’ αὖθ’ ὁ γέρων κατελέξατο, ὥς γὰρ ἀνώγειν,  
 ὄφρα οἱ ἐν νήεσσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδ’ ἔπηται 691  
 αὔριον, ἣν ἐθέλῃσιν· ἀνάγκη δ’ οὐ τί μιν ἄξει.”  
 ὥς ἔφαθ’, οἳ δ’ ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ  
 [μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν.]  
 δὴν δ’ ἄνεω ἦσαν τετιηότες υἱες Ἀχαιῶν· 695

*Diomedes expresses regret that the embassy was ever sent.  
 He bids Agamemnon marshal the host for battle next  
 morning. The chieftains depart each to his tent.*

ὁψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 “Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,  
 μὴ ὄφελος λίσσεσθαι ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα,  
 μυρία δῶρα διδούς· ὁ δ’ ἀγῆνωρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως·  
 νῦν αὖ μιν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀγνηορήσιν ἐνῆκας. 700  
 ἀλλ’ ἢ τοι κείνον μὲν ἐάσομεν, ἢ κεν ἴησιν  
 ἢ κε μένῃ· τότε δ’ αὖτε μαχήσεται, ὅππότε κέν μιν

θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι ἀνώγῃ καὶ θεὸς ὄρσῃ.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἵπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες·  
 νῦν μὲν κοιμήσασθε τεταρπόμενοι φίλον ἦτορ 705  
 σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο· τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κε φανῇ καλὴ ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
 καρπαλίμως πρὸ νεῶν ἐχέμεν λαόν τε καὶ ἵππους  
 ὀτρύνων, καὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μάχεσθαι."

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνησαν βασιλῆες. 710  
 μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο.  
 καὶ τότε δὴ σπείσαντες ἔβαν κλισίηνδε ἕκαστος,  
 ἔνθα δὲ κοιμήσαντο καὶ ὕπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο.

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Κ.

### ΔΟΛΩΝΕΙΑ.

*Agamemnon, sleepless with care, resolves to go and consult with Nestor. While arraying himself he is visited by his brother Menelaus who is awake and abroad on a like errand.*

ἄλλοι μὲν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν  
εὖδον παννύχιοι, μαλακῶ δεδμημένοι ὕπνῳ·  
ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν  
ὕπνος ἔχε γλυκερός, πολλὰ φρεσὶν ὀρμαίνοντα.  
ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀστράπτῃ πόσις Ἥρης ἠυκόμοιο, 5  
τεύχων ἢ πολὺν ὄμβρον ἀθέσφατον ἢ χάλαζαν  
ἢ νιφετόν, ὅτε πέρ τε χιῶν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας,  
ἢ ποθὶ πτολέμοιο μέγα στόμα πευκεδανοῖο,  
ὥς πυκὶν' ἐν στήθεσιν ἀνεστενάχιζ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
νειόθεν ἐκ κραδίης, τρομέοντο δέ οἱ φρένες ἐντός. 10  
ἢ τοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδίου τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειεν,  
θαύμαζεν πυρὰ πολλά, τὰ καίετο Ἰλιόθι πρό,  
αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπὴν ὀμαδὸν τ' ἀνθρώπων·  
αὐτὰρ ὅτ' ἐς νῆας τε ἴδοι καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν,  
πολλὰς ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμνους ἔλκετο χαίτας 15  
ὑψόθ' ἐόντι Δίῃ, μέγα δ' ἔστενε κυδάλιμον κῆρ.

ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή,  
 Νέστορ' ἐπὶ πρῶτον Νηλήϊον ἐλθέμεν ἀνδρῶν,  
 εἴ τινά οἱ σὺν μῆτιν ἀμύμονα τεκτῆναιτο,  
 ἢ τις ἀλεξικάκος πᾶσιν Δαναοῖσι γένοιτο. 20  
 ὀρθωθείς δ' ἔνδυε περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα,  
 ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἔπειτα δαφοινὸν ἐέσσατο δέρμα λέοντος  
 αἰθωνος μέγαλοιο ποδηνεκές, εἴλετο δ' ἔγχος.

ὥς δ' αὐτως Μενέλαον ἔχε τρόμος, (οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῷ 25  
 ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζανε,) μὴ τι πάθοιεν  
 Ἀργεῖοι, τοὶ δὴ ἔθεν εἵνεκα πούλυν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν  
 ἤλυθον ἐς Τροίην πόλεμον θρασὺν ὀρμαίνοντες.  
 παρδαλέη μὲν πρῶτα μετάφρενον εὐρὺ κάλυψεν  
 ποικίλη, αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ στεφάνην κεφαλῇφιν αἰείρας 30  
 θήκατο χαλκείην, δόρυ δ' εἴλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ.  
 βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἀνστήσων ὃν ἀδελφεόν, ὃς μέγα πάντων  
 Ἀργείων ἦνασσε, θεὸς δ' ὥς τίετο δῆμῳ.  
 τὸν δ' εὖρ' ἀμφ' ὥμοισι τιθήμενον ἔντεα καλὰ  
 νηὶ πάρα πρυμνῇ· τῷ δ' ἀσπᾶσιος γένετ' ἐλθών. 35  
 τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος·  
 “τίφθ' οὕτως, ἡθεῖε, κορύσσειαι; ἢ τιν' ἐταίρων  
 ὀτρυνέεις Τρώεσσιν ἐπίσκοπον; ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς  
 δεῖδω, μὴ οὐ τίς τοι ὑπόσχηται τόδε ἔργον,  
 ἄνδρας δυσμενέας σκοπιαζέμεν οἷος ἐπελθών 40  
 νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην· μάλα τις θρασυκάρδιος ἔσται.”

*The brothers go their ways to summon certain  
 chieftains to a conference.*

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 “χρεὼ βουλῆς ἐμὲ καὶ σέ, διοτρεφεὺς ὦ Μενέλαε,  
 κερδαλέης, ἢ τίς κεν ἐρύσσεται ἡδὲ σαώσεται

Ἄργείους καὶ νῆας, ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἐτράπετο φρήν. 45  
 Ἑκτορέοις ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐπὶ φρένα θῆχ' ἱεροῖσιν·  
 οὐ γάρ πω ἰδόμην οὐδ' ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος  
 ἄνδρ' ἕνα τοσσάδε μέρμερ' ἐπ' ἡματι μητίσασθαι,  
 ὅσος Ἑκτωρ ἔρρεξε διίφιλος υἱᾶς Ἀχαιῶν,  
 αὐτως, οὔτε θεᾶς υἱὸς φίλος οὔτε θεοῖο. 50  
 ἔργα δ' ἔρεξ', ὅσα φημὶ μελησέμεν Ἀργείοισιν  
 δηθά τε καὶ δολιχόν· τόσα γὰρ κακὰ μῆσατ' Ἀχαιοὺς.  
 ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν, Αἴαντα καὶ Ἰδομενῆα κάλεσσον  
 ῥίμφα θεῶν παρὰ νῆας· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Νέστορα διὸν  
 εἴμι, καὶ ὀτρυνέω ἀνστήμεναι, αἳ κ' ἐθέλῃσιν 55  
 ἐλθεῖν ἐς φυλάκων ἱερὸν τέλος ἧδ' ἐπιτεῖλαι.  
 κείνου γάρ κε μάλιστα πιθοίαιτο· τοῖο γὰρ υἱὸς  
 σημαίνει φυλάκεσσι καὶ Ἰδομενῆος ὀπάων  
 Μηριόνης· τοῖσιν γὰρ ἐπετράπομέν γε μάλιστα."  
 τὸν δ' ἡμέμβετ' ἔπειτα βοῆν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος· 60  
 "πῶς γάρ μοι μύθῳ ἐπιτέλλεαι ἠδὲ κελεύεις;  
 αὐθι μένω μετὰ τοῖσι δεδεγμένος, εἰς ὃ κεν ἔλθῃς,  
 ἦε θέω μετὰ σ' αὐτῖς, ἐπὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτεῖλω;"  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 "αὐθι μένειν, μὴ πῶς ἀβροτάξομεν ἀλλήλοιν 65  
 ἐρχομένῳ· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἀνὰ στρατὸν εἰσι κέλευθοι.  
 φθέγγεο δ', ἣ κεν ἴησθα, καὶ ἐγρήγορθαι ἄνωχθι,  
 πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον,  
 πάντας κυδαίνων· μηδὲ μεγαλίζεο θυμῷ,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοί περ πονεώμεθα· ὧδέ που ἄμμιν 70  
 Ζεὺς ἐπὶ γεινομένοισιν ἔει κακότητα βαρεῖαν."

*Agamemnon rouses Nestor, and bids him come with him to visit the guards on duty without the gates, and there to meet Menelaus and others.*

ὥς εἰπὼν ἀπέπεμπεν ἀδελφεὸν εὖ ἐπιτείλας.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ῥ' ἰέναι μετὰ Νέστορα ποιμένα λαῶν·  
 τὸν δ' εὗρεν παρά τε κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ  
 εὐνῇ ἐνι μαλακῇ· παρὰ δ' ἔντεα ποικίλ' ἔκειτο, 75  
 ἀσπίς καὶ δύο δοῦρε φαεινὴ τε τρυφάλεια·  
 παρ δὲ ζωστήρ κεῖτο παναίολος, ᾧ ῥ' ὁ γεραιὸς  
 ζώννυθ', ὅτ' ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα θωρήσσοιτο  
 λαὸν ἄγων, ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἐπέτρεπε γήραϊ λυγρῷ.  
 ὀρθωθείς δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος, κεφαλὴν ἐπαείρας, 80  
 Ἄτρεΐδην προσέειπε καὶ ἐξερεείνετο μύθῳ·  
 “τίς δ' οὔτος κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ στρατὸν ἔρχεαι οἷος  
 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην, ὅτε θ' εὐδουσι βροτοὶ ἄλλοι;  
 ἢ ἐ τιν' οὐρήων διζήμενος ἢ τιν' ἐταίρων;  
 φθέγγεο, μῆδ' ἀκέων ἐπ' ἔμ' ἔρχεο· τίπτε δέ σε χρεώ;”  
 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων· 86  
 “ὦ Νέστορ Νηληιάδη, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν,  
 εἴσεαι Ἄτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα, τὸν περὶ πάντων  
 Ζεὺς ἐνέηκε πόνοισι διαμπερές, εἰς ὃ κ' αὐτμὴ  
 ἐν στήθεσσι μένη καί μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη. 90  
 πλάζομαι ὦδ', ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι ἐπ' ὄμμασι νήδυμος ὕπνος  
 ἰζάνει, ἀλλὰ μέλει πόλεμος καὶ κῆδε' Ἀχαιῶν.  
 αἰνῶς γὰρ Δαναῶν περιδεΐδια, οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ  
 ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκτῃμαι, κραδίη δέ μοι ἔξω  
 στηθέων ἐκθρώσκει, τρομέει δ' ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα. 95  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τι δραίνεις, ἐπεὶ οὐδέ σέ γ' ὕπνος ἰκάνει,  
 δεῦρ' ἐς τοὺς φύλακας καταβήομεν, ὅφρα ἴδωμεν,  
 μὴ τοὶ μὲν καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες ἡδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ  
 κοιμήσωνται, ἀτὰρ φυλακῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθωνται·



δυσμενέες δ' ἄνδρες σχεδὸν εἶαται· οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν· 100  
μή πως καὶ διὰ νύκτα μειοινήσωσι μάχεσθαι.”

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·  
“Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,  
οὗ θην Ἐκτορι πάντα νοήματα μητίετα Ζεὺς  
ἐκτελέει, ὅσα πού νῦν ἔλπεται· ἀλλὰ μιν οἶω 105  
κῆδεσι μοχθήσειν καὶ πλείοσιν, εἴ κεν Ἀχιλλεὺς  
ἐκ χόλου ἀργαλέοιο μεταστρέψῃ φίλον ἦτορ.  
σοὶ δὲ μάλ' ἔφομ' ἐγώ· ποτὶ δ' αὖ καὶ ἐγείρομεν ἄλλους,  
ἡμὲν Τυδεΐδην δουρικλυτὸν ἦδ' Ὀδυσῆα  
ἦδ' Αἴαντα ταχὺν καὶ Φυλῆος ἄλκιμον υἱόν. 110  
ἀλλ' εἴ τις καὶ τούσδε μετοιχόμενος καλέσειεν,  
ἀντίθεόν τ' Αἴαντα καὶ Ἰδομενῆα ἄνακτα·  
τῶν γὰρ νῆες ἕασιν ἐκαστάτω οὐδὲ μάλ' ἐγγύς.  
ἀλλὰ φίλον περ ἔοντα καὶ αἰδοῖον Μενέλαον  
νεικέσω, εἴ πέρ μοι νεμεσήσῃαι, οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω, 115  
ὥς εὔδει, σοὶ δ' οἶω ἐπέτρεψεν πονέεσθαι.  
νῦν ὄφελεν κατὰ πάντας ἀριστῆας πονέεσθαι  
λισσόμενος· χρεῖῳ γὰρ ἰκάνεται οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτός.”

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
“ὦ γέρον, ἄλλοτε μὲν σε καὶ αἰτιάσθαι ἄνωγα· 120  
πολλάκι γὰρ μεθιεῖ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλει πονέεσθαι,  
οὔτ' ὄκνω εἶκων οὔτ' ἀφραδίῃσι νόοιο,  
ἀλλ' ἐμέ τ' εἰσορόων καὶ ἐμὴν ποτιδέγμενος ὁρμήν.  
νῦν δ' ἐμέο πρότερος μάλ' ἐπέγρετο καὶ μοι ἐπέστη·  
τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ προέηκα καλήμεναι, οὓς σὺ μεταλλᾷς. 125  
ἀλλ' ἴομεν· κείνους δὲ κιχησόμεθα πρὸ πυλάων  
ἐν φυλάκεσσ'· ἵνα γάρ σφιν ἐπέφραδον ἡγερέθεσθαι.”

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·  
“οὕτως οὗ τις οἱ νεμεσήσεται οὐδ' ἀπιθήσει  
Ἀργείων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐποτρύνῃ καὶ ἀνώγῃ.” 130

*Nestor, accompanying Agamemnon, wakes first Odysseus and then Diomedes; the latter is sent to fetch Ajax and Meges.*

ὥς εἰπὼν ἔνδυνε περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα,  
 ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαῖναν περονήσατο φοινικόεσσαν,  
 διπλὴν ἐκταδίην, οὔλη δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη.  
 εἶλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ἀκαχμένον ὀξεί χαλκῷ, 135  
 βῆ δ' ἰέναι κατὰ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτῶνων.  
 πρῶτον ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον  
 ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνέγειρε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ  
 φθεγξάμενος· τὸν δ' αἶψα περὶ φρένας ἦλυθ' ἰωή,  
 ἐκ δ' ἦλθε κλισίης καὶ σφεας πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν· 140  
 “τίφθ' οὔτω κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ στρατὸν οἶοι ἀλᾶσθε  
 νύκτα δι' ἀμβρουσίην, ὅ τι δὴ χρεῖω τόσον ἵκει;”

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·  
 “διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
 μὴ νεμέσα· τοῖον γὰρ ἄχος βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιοὺς· 145  
 ἀλλ' ἔπει, ὅφρα καὶ ἄλλον ἐγείρομεν, ὃν τ' ἐπέοικεν  
 [βουλὰς βουλεύειν, ἢ φευγέμεν ἢ ἐμάχεσθαι.]”

ὥς φάθ', ὁ δὲ κλισίῃνδε κιὼν πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ποικίλον ἀμφ' ὤμοισι σάκος θέτο, βῆ δὲ μετ' αὐτούς.  
 βὰν δ' ἐπὶ Τυδεΐδην Διομήδεα· τὸν δὲ κίχανον 150  
 ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ κλισίης σὺν τεύχεσιν· ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι  
 εὗδον, ὑπὸ κρασὶν δ' ἔχον ἀσπίδας· ἔγχεα δὲ σφιν  
 ὄρθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος ἐλήλατο, τῆλε δὲ χαλκὸς  
 λάμφ' ὥς τε στεροπὴ πατρὸς Διός· αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἥρως  
 εὗδ', ὑπὸ δ' ἔστρωτο ῥινὸν βοδὸς ἀγραύλοιο, 155  
 αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ κράτεσφι τάπης τετάνυστο φαεινός.  
 τὸν παρστὰς ἀνέγειρε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ,

λάξ ποδὶ κινήσας, ὥτρυνέ τε νείκεσέ τ' ἄντην·  
 “ἔγρεο, Τυδέος υἱέ· τί πάννυχον ὕπνον ἀωτεῖς;  
 οὐκ αἰεὶς, ὥς Τρῶες ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο 160  
 εἶαται ἄγχι νεῶν, ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι χώρος ἐρύκει;”

ὥς φάθ', ὁ δ' ἐξ ὕπνοιο μάλα κραιπνῶς ἀνόρουσεν,  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “σχέτλιός ἐσσι, γεραιέ· σὺ μὲν πόνου οὐ ποτε λήγεις.  
 οὐ νυ καὶ ἄλλοι ἔασι νεώτεροι υἱες Ἀχαιῶν, 165  
 οἳ κεν ἔπειτα ἕκαστον ἐγείρειαν βασιλῆων  
 πάντῃ ἐποιχόμενοι; σὺ δ' ἀμήχανός ἐσσι, γεραιέ.”

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·  
 “ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, τέκος, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.  
 εἰσὶν μὲν μοι παῖδες ἀμύμονες, εἰσὶ δὲ λαοὶ 170  
 καὶ πολέες, τῶν κέν τις ἐποιχόμενος καλέσειεν·  
 ἀλλὰ μάλα μεγάλη χρεὶώ βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιοὺς·  
 νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς,  
 ἢ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Ἀχαιοῖς ἢ ἐβιώναι.  
 ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν, Αἴαντα ταχὺν καὶ Φυλῆος υἱόν 175  
 ἄνστησον, σὺ γάρ ἐσσι νεώτερος, εἴ μ' ἐλεαίρεις.”

ὥς φάθ', ὁ δ' ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν ἐέσσατο δέρμα λέοντος  
 αἰθωνος μεγάλοιο ποδηνεκές, εἴλετο δ' ἔγχος.  
 βῆ δ' ἰέναι, τοὺς δ' ἔνθεν ἀνὰ στήσας ἄγεν ἥρως.

*The guards being found under arms and vigilant are com-  
 mended by Nestor. The chieftains cross the trench and  
 sit down in the open plain.*

οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ φυλάκεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν, 180  
 οὐδὲ μὲν εὖδοντας φυλάκων ἡγήτορας εὖρον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐγρηγορτὶ σὺν τεύχεσιν εἶατο πάντες.  
 ὥς δὲ κύνες περὶ μῆλα δυσωρήσονται ἐν αὐλῇ  
 θηρὸς ἀκούσαντες κρατερόφρονος, ὅς τε καθ' ὕλην

ἔρχηται δι' ὄρεσφι· πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ 183  
 ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ κυνῶν, ἀπὸ τέ σφισιν ὕπνος ὄλωλεν·  
 ὥς τῶν νήδυμος ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάροιν ὄλώλειν  
 νύκτα φυλασσομένοισι κακὴν· πεδίουνδε γὰρ αἰεὶ  
 τετράφαθ', ὅππότε' ἐπὶ Τρώων αἰοίεν ἰόντων.

τοὺς δ' ὁ γέρων γήθησεν ἰδὼν θάρσυνέ τε μύθῳ 190  
 [καὶ σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα]:  
 “οὐτῶ νῦν, φίλα τέκνα, φυλάσσετε· μηδέ τιν' ὕπνος  
 αἰρείτω, μὴ χάρμα γενώμεθα δυσμενέεσσιν.”

ὥς εἰπὼν τάφροιο διέσσυτο· τοὶ δ' ἅμ' ἔποντο  
 Ἀργείων βασιλῆες, ὅσοι κεκλήατο βουλὴν. 195  
 τοῖς δ' ἅμα Μηριόνης καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς  
 ἦσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ κάλεον συμμητιάσθαι.  
 τάφρου δ' ἐκδιαβάντες ὀρυκτὴν ἐδριύωντο  
 ἐν καθαρῷ, ὅθι δὴ νεκύων διεφαίνετο χῶρος  
 πεπτεώτων, ὅθεν αὖτις ἀπετράπετ' ὄβριμος Ἔκτωρ 200  
 ὄλλυς Ἀργείους, ὅτε δὴ περὶ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν·  
 ἔνθα καθεζόμενοι ἔπε' ἀλλήλοισι πίφανσκειν.

*Nestor asks if any will volunteer to go and spy upon the  
 Trojans. Diomedes volunteers, and asks for a comrade.*

τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·  
 “ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν δὴ τις ἀνὴρ πεπίθοιθ' ἐφ' αὐτοῦ  
 θυμῷ τολμῆεντι μετὰ Τρώας μεγαθύμους 205  
 ἔλθειν; εἴ τινά που δηίων ἔλοι ἐσχατόντα,  
 ἢ τινά που καὶ φῆμιν ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι πύθοιτο,  
 ἥσσω τε μητιώωσι μετὰ σφίσιν, ἢ μεμάασιν  
 αὖθι μένειν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀπόπροθεν, ἢε πόλινδε  
 ἀψ' ἀναχωρήσουσιν, ἐπεὶ δαμάσαντό γ' Ἀχαιοὺς· 210  
 ταῦτά τε πάντα πύθοιτο, καὶ ἀψ' εἰς ἡμέας ἔλθοι  
 ἀσκηθής· μέγα κέν οἱ ὑπουράνιον κλέος εἶη

πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους· καὶ οἱ δόσις ἔσσεται ἐσθλή·  
 ὅσσοι γὰρ νήεσσιν ἐπικρατεύουσιν ἄριστοι,  
 τῶν πάντων οἱ ἕκαστος οἷν δώσουσι μέλαιναν 215  
 θῆλυν ὑπόρρηνον· τῇ μὲν κτέρας οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον·  
 αἰεὶ δ' ἐν δαίτησι καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσται."

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.  
 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 "Νέστορ, ἔμ' ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ 220  
 ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων δῦναι στρατὸν ἐγγὺς ἐόντων,  
 Τρώων· ἀλλ' εἴ τίς μοι ἀνὴρ ἄμ' ἔποιτο καὶ ἄλλος·  
 μᾶλλον θαλπωρὴ καὶ θαρσαλεώτερον ἔσται.  
 σὺν τε δὴ ἔρχομένω καὶ τε πρὸ ὃ τοῦ ἐνόησεν,  
 ὕππως κέρδος ἔη· μῦθος δ' εἴ πέρ τε νοήσῃ, 225  
 ἀλλὰ τέ οἱ βράσσων τε νόος λεπτή δέ τε μῆτις."

*Several chieftains are eager to accompany Diomedes. He is  
 bidden by Agamemnon to choose among them without  
 respect of person, and selects Odysseus.*

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἔθελον Διομήδεϊ πολλοὶ ἔπεσθαι·  
 ἠθελέτην Αἴαντε δύω, θεράποντες Ἄρης,  
 ἠέλε Μηριόνης, μάλα δ' ἠέλε Νέστορος υἱός,  
 ἠέλε δ' Ἀτρεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος, 230  
 ἠέλε δ' ὁ τλήμων Ὀδυσσεὺς καταδύναι ὅμιλον  
 Τρώων· αἰεὶ γάρ οἱ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἐτόλμα.  
 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 "Τυδεΐδῃ Διόμηδες, ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ,  
 τὸν μὲν δὴ ἔταρόν γ' αἰρήσῃαι, ὃν κ' ἐθέλῃσθα, 235  
 φαινομένων τὸν ἄριστον, ἐπεὶ μεμῶασί γε πολλοί.  
 μῆδὲ σὺ γ' αἰδόμενος σῇσι φρεσὶ τὸν μὲν ἀρείω  
 καλλεΐπειν, σὺ δὲ χεῖρον' ὀπάσῃαι αἰδοῖ εἴκων,  
 ἐς γενεὴν ὀρόων, μῆδ' εἰ βασιλεύτερός ἐστιν."



ὥς ἔφατ', ἔδδεισεν δὲ περὶ ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ. 240  
 τοῖς δ' αὖτις μετέειπε βοῇν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 "εἰ μὲν δὴ ἔταρόν γε κελεύετε μ' αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι,  
 πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην,  
 οὐ πέρι μὲν πρόφρων κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ  
 ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι, φιλεῖ δέ ἐ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη. 245  
 τούτου γ' ἐσπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο  
 ἄμφω νοστήσαιμεν, ἐπεὶ περίοιδε νοῆσαι."

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "Τυδεΐδη, μήτ' ἄρ με μάλ' αἶνεε μήτε τι νείκει·  
 εἰδόσι γάρ τοι ταῦτα μετ' Ἀργείοις ἀγορεύεις. 250  
 ἀλλ' ἴομεν· μάλα γὰρ νύξ ἄνεται, ἐγγύθι δ' ἡώς,  
 ἄστρα δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε, παρῶχκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ  
 τῶν δύο μοιράων, τριτάτη δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λέλειπται."

*Diomedes and Odysseus are armed for the expedition. As  
 they set out, Athene sends them an omen of success.  
 They pray to her in turn.*

ὥς εἰπόνθ' ὅπλοισιν ἔνι δεινοῖσιν ἐδύτην.  
 Τυδεΐδην μὲν δῶκε μενεπτόλεμος Θρασυμήδης 255  
 φάσγανον ἄμφηκες, τὸ δ' ἐὼν παρὰ νηὶ λέλειπτο,  
 καὶ σάκος· ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκεν  
 ταυρεῖην, ἄφαλόν τε καὶ ἄλλοφον, ἥ τε καταῖτυξ  
 κέκληται, ῥύεται δὲ κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζῶν.  
 Μηριόνης δ' Ὀδυσῆϊ δίδου βιὸν ἠδὲ φαρέτρην 260  
 καὶ ξίφος, ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκεν  
 ῥινοῦ ποιητήν· πολέσιν δ' ἔντοσθεν ἰμάσιν  
 ἐντέτατο στερεῶς, ἔκτοσθε δὲ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες  
 ἀργιόδοντος ὑὸς θαμέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
 εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως, μέσση δ' ἐνὶ πῖλος ἀρήρειν. 265  
 τὴν ῥά ποτ' ἐξ Ἑλεῶνος Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο



ἐξέλετ' Αὐτόλυκος πυκινὸν δόμον ἀντιτορήσας,  
 Σκάνδειαν δ' ἄρα δῶκε Κυθηρίῳ Ἀμφιδάμαντι·  
 Ἀμφιδάμας δὲ Μόλῳ δῶκε ξεινήιον εἶναι,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ Μηριόνη δῶκεν ᾧ παιδί φορῆναι· 270  
 δὴ τότε Ὀδυσσῆος πύκασεν κάρη ἀμφιτεθεῖσα.

τῷ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ὅπλοισιν ἐνὶ δεινοῖσιν ἐδύτην,  
 βάν ῥ' ἰέναι, λιπέτην δὲ κατ' αὐτόθι πάντας ἀρίστους.  
 τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν ἐρωδιὸν ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο  
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη· τοὶ δ' οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν 275  
 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην, ἀλλὰ κλάγξαντος ἄκουσαν.  
 χαῖρε δὲ τῷ ὄρνιθ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ἡρᾶτο δ' Ἀθήνη·  
 “κλυθί μεν, αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, ἥ τέ μοι αἰεὶ  
 ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι παρίστασαι, οὐδέ σε λήθω  
 κινύμενος, νῦν αὖτε μάλιστά με φίλαι, Ἀθήνη, 280  
 δὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ νῆας εὐκλείας ἀφικέσθαι,  
 ῥέξαντας μέγα ἔργον, ὃ κε Τρώεσσι μελήσει.”

δεύτερος αὖτ' ἡρᾶτο βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 “κέκλυθι νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο, Διὸς τέκος, ἀτρυτώνη·  
 σπεῖό μοι, ὥς ὅτε πατρὶ ἄμ' ἔσπεο Τυδέϊ δίῳ 285  
 ἐς Θήβας, ὅτε τε πρὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἄγγελος ἦεν.  
 τοὺς δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπῷ λίπε χαλκοχίτωνας Ἀχαιοὺς,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ μειλίχιον μῦθον φέρε Καδμείοισιν  
 κεῖσ'· ἀτὰρ ἅψ' ἀπιὼν μῖλα μέρμερα μήσατο ἔργα  
 σὺν σοί, δῖα θεά, ὅτε οἱ πρόφρασσα παρέστης. 290  
 ὧς νῦν μοι ἐθέλουσα παρίστασο καὶ με φύλασσε·  
 σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἦνιν εὐρυμέτωπον,  
 ἀδμήτην, ἣν οὐ πῶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἡγαγεν ἀνὴρ·  
 τήν τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας.”

ὧς ἔφην εὐχόμενοι, τῶν δ' ἔκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη. 295  
 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἡρήσαντο Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο,  
 βάν ῥ' ἵμεν ὥς τελέοντε δύω διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν,  
 ἄμ φόνον, ἂν νέκυας, διὰ τ' ἔντεα καὶ μέλαν αἶμα.

*The Trojan chieftains likewise are awake. Hector calls an assembly, and induces Dolon to go and spy upon the Greek camp.*

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ Τρῳᾶς ἀγήνορας εἶασ' Ἑκτωρ  
 εὔδειν, ἀλλ' ἄμυδις κικλήσκετο πάντας ἀρίστους, 300  
 ὅσσοι ἔσαν Τρώων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες·  
 τοὺς ὃ γε συγκαλέσας πυκινὴν ἡρτύνετο βουλὴν·  
 "τίς κέν μοι τόδε ἔργον ὑποσχόμενος τελέσειεν  
 δώρῳ ἔπι μεγάλῳ; μισθὸς δέ οἱ ἄρκιος ἔσται·  
 δώσω γὰρ δίφρον τε δύο τ' ἐριαύχενας ἵππους, 305  
 οἳ κεν ἄριστοι ἔωσι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ὅς τις κε τλαίῃ, (οἳ τ' αὐτῷ κῦδος ἄροιτο,)  
 νηῶν ὠκυπόρων σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἔκ τε πυθέσθαι,  
 ἢ φυλίσσονται νῆες θοαὶ ὥς τὸ πάρος περ,  
 ἢ ἤδη χεῖρεσσιν ὑφ' ἡμετέρῃσι δαμέντες 310  
 φύξιν βουλεύουσι μετὰ σφίσιν, οὐδ' ἐθέλουσιν  
 νύκτα φυλασσέμεναι, καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες αἰνῶ."·

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.  
 ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δόλων Ἑυμήδεος υἱὸς  
 κήρυκος θείοιο, πολίχρυσος πολύχαλκος· 315  
 ὃς δὴ τοι εἶδος μὲν ἦν κακός, ἀλλὰ ποδῶκης·  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ μοῦνος ἦν μετὰ πέντε κασιγνήτησιν.  
 ὃς ῥα τότε Τρωσὶν τε καὶ Ἑκτορι μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 "Ἑκτορ, ἔμ' ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ  
 νηῶν ὠκυπόρων σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἔκ τε πυθέσθαι. 320  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀνάσχεο, καὶ μοι ὁμοσسون  
 ἢ μὲν τοὺς ἵππους τε καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῷ  
 δωσέμεν, οἳ φορέουσιν ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.  
 σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ οὐχ ἄλιος σκοπὸς ἔσσομαι οὐδ' ἀπὸ δόξης·  
 τόφρα γὰρ ἐς στρατὸν εἶμι διαμπερές, ὄφρ' ἂν ἴκωμαι 325

νῆ' Ἀγαμεμνονέην, ὅθι που μέλλουσιν ἄριστοι  
βουλὰς βουλευέιν, ἧ φευγέμεν ἢ μάχεσθαι."

ὥς φάθ', ὁ δ' ἐν χερσὶ σκῆπτρον λάβε καὶ οἱ ὁμοσσαν·  
"ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς αὐτός, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης,  
μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχήσεται ἄλλος 330  
Τρώων, ἀλλὰ σέ φημι διαμπερὲς ἀγλαΐεῖσθαι."  
ὥς φάτο καὶ ῥ' ἐπίορκον ἐπώμοσε, τὸν δ' ὀρόθυνεν.  
αὐτίκα δ' ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν ἐβάλλετο καμπύλα τόξα,  
ἔσσατο δ' ἔκτοσθεν ῥινὸν πολιοῖο λύκοιο,  
κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην κυνέην, ἔλε δ' ὄξυν ἄκοντα, 335  
βῆ δ' ἰέναι προτὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατοῦ· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλεν  
ἐλθὼν ἐκ νηῶν ἄψ' Ἑκτορι μῦθον ἀποίσειν.

*Dolon sets out and is espied by Odysseus, who craftily allows him to pass toward the Greek camp. Odysseus and Diomedes then pursue and catch him. Dolon pleads to have his life spared, and promises large ransom.*

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν κάλλιφ' ὄμιλον,  
βῆ ῥ' ἀν' ὁδὸν μεμαώς· τὸν δὲ φράσατο προσιόντα  
διογενὴς Ὀδυσσεύς, Διομήδεα δὲ προσέειπεν· 340  
"οὗτός τις, Διόμηδες, ἀπὸ στρατοῦ ἔρχεται ἀνὴρ,  
οὐκ οἶδ', ἧ νήεσσιν ἐπίσκοπος ἡμετέρησιν,  
ἦ τινὰ συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων.  
ἀλλ' ἐὼμέν μιν πρῶτα παρεξελθεῖν πεδίοιο  
τυτθόν· ἔπειτα δέ κ' αὐτὸν ἐπαῖξαντες ἔλοιμεν 345  
καρπαλίμως· εἰ δ' ἄμμε παραφθαίησι πόδεσσιν,  
αἰεὶ μιν ἐπὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατόφι προτιελεῖν  
ἔγχει ἐπαῖσσω, μή πως προτὶ ἄστν ἀλύξῃ."

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσαντε παρέξ ὁδοῦ ἐν νεκύεσσιν  
κλινθήτην· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ὦκα παρέδραμεν ἀφραδίῃσιν. 350

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἀπέην, ὅσπον τ' ἐπὶ οὖρα πέλονται  
 ἡμιόνων, αἱ γάρ τε βοῶν προφερέστεραί εἰσιν  
 ἐλκέμεναι νειοῖο βαθείης πηκτὸν ἄροτρον,  
 τῷ μὲν ἐπεδραμέτην, ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔστη δοῦπον ἀκούσας·  
 ἔλπετο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀποστρέψοντας ἐταίρους 355  
 ἐκ Τρώων ἰέναι, πάλιν Ἴκτορος ὀτρύναντος.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἄπεςαν δουρηνεκὲς ἢ καὶ ἔλασσον,  
 γυνῷ ῥ' ἄνδρας δηίους, λαιψήρὰ δὲ γούνατ' ἐνώμα  
 φευγέμεναι· τοὶ δ' αἶψα διώκειν ὀρμήθησαν.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε καρχαρόδοντε δύω κύνε εἰδότε θήρης 360  
 ἢ κεμάδ' ἢ λαγῶν ἐπείγετον ἐμμενὲς αἰεὶ  
 χῶρον ἀν' ὑλήενθ', ὁ δὲ τε προθέησι μεμηκῶς,  
 ὥς τὸν Τυδεΐδης ἦδ' ὁ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 λαοῦ ἀποτμήξαντε διώκετον ἐμμενὲς αἰεὶ.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἐμελλε μιγήσεσθαι φυλάκεσιν 365  
 φεύγων ἐς νῆας, τότε δὴ μένος ἔμβαλ' Ἀθήνη  
 Τυδεΐδῃ, ἵνα μὴ τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων  
 φθαίῃ ἐπευξάμενος βαλέειν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἔλθοι.  
 δουρὶ δ' ἐπαΐσσων προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·  
 “ἦέ μὲν, ἦέ σε δουρὶ κιχήσομαι, οὐδέ σέ φημι 370  
 δηρὸν ἐμῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἀλύξειν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον.”

ἢ ῥα καὶ ἔγχος ἀφῆκεν, ἐκὼν δ' ἡμάρτανε φωτός.  
 δεξιτερὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ὦμον ἐυξοῦ δουρὸς ἀκωκῇ  
 ἐν γαίῃ ἐπάγη· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔστη τάρβησέν τε  
 βαμβαίνων, ἄραβος δὲ διὰ στόμα γίγνεται ὀδόντων, 375  
 χλωρὸς ὑπαὶ δέιους. τῷ δ' ἀσθμαίνοντε κιχήτην,  
 χειρῶν δ' ἀψάσθην· ὁ δὲ δακρύσας ἔπος ἤυδα·  
 “ζωγρεῖτ', αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐμὲ λύσομαι· ἔστι γὰρ ἔνδον  
 χαλκός τε χρυσός τε πολύκητός τε σίδηρος·  
 τῶν κ' ὕμνιν χαρίσαιτο πατὴρ ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα, 380  
 εἴ κεν ἐμὲ ζῶν πεπύθοιτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.”

*Odysseus guiltfully reassures his prisoner, and questions him.  
Dolon confesses his purpose of spying.*

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “θάρσει, μηδέ τί τοι θάνατος καταθύμιος ἔστω·  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον·  
 πῇ δὴ οὕτως ἐπὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατοῦ ἔρχεαι οἶος 385  
 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην, ὅτε θ' εὐδουσι βροτοὶ ἄλλοι;  
 ἢ τινα συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων;  
 ἢ σ' Ἐκτωρ προέηκε διασκοπιᾶσθαι ἕκαστα  
 νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς, ἢ σ' αὐτὸν θυμὸς ἀνῆκεν;”

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Δόλων, ὑπὸ δ' ἔτρεμε γυῖα 390  
 “πολλῆσίν μ' ἄτρησι παρέκ νόον ἦγαγεν Ἐκτωρ,  
 ὅς μοι Πηλεΐωνος ἀγανοῦ μώνυχας ἵππους  
 δωσέμεναι κατένευσε καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῷ,  
 ἠνώγει δέ μ' ἰόντα θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν  
 ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἔκ τε πυθέσθαι, 395  
 ἢ ἐφυλάσσονται νῆες θααί, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ,  
 ἢ ἤδη χεῖρεσσιν ὑφ' ἡμετέρησι δαμέντες  
 φύξιν βουλευοίτε μετὰ σφίσιν, οὐδ' ἐθέλοιτε  
 νύκτα φυλασσέμεναι, καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες αἰνῶ.”

*Odysseus asks how the Trojans and their allies are posted,  
and Dolon in answer directs him to the quarters of  
the newly-arrived Thracian prince, Rhesus, whose horses  
and arms were a worthy spoil. He prays to be left a  
prisoner in the Greek camp, or to be bound and left  
where he is, till Odysseus and Diomedes return from  
their raid.*

τὸν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς· 400  
 “ἢ ῥά νύ τοι μεγάλων δώρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμὸς,  
 ἵππων Αἰακίδαο δαΐφρονος· οἱ δ' ἀλεγεινοί  
 ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι δαμήμεναι ἢδ' ὀχέεσθαι,



ἄλλω γ' ἢ Ἀχιλῇι, τὸν ἀθανάτη τέκε μήτηρ.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατὰλεξον· 405  
 ποῦ νῦν δεῦρο κιὼν λίπες Ἑκτορα ποιμένα λαῶν;  
 ποῦ δέ οἱ ἔντεα κείται ἀρήια, ποῦ δέ οἱ ἵπποι;  
 πῶς δ' αὖ τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων φυλακαὶ τε καὶ εὐναί;  
 ἥσσα τε μητιόωσι μετὰ σφίσιν, ἢ μεμάασιν  
 αὐθι μένειν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀπόπροθεν, ἦε πόλινδε 410  
 ἀψ' ἀναχωρήσουσιν, ἐπεὶ δαμάσαντό γ' Ἀχαιοὺς;"

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Δόλων Ἑυμήδεος υἱός·  
 "τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω.  
 Ἑκτωρ μὲν μετὰ τοῖσιν, ὅσοι βουληφόροι εἰσίν,  
 βουλὰς βουλεύει θείου παρὰ σήματι Ἴλου, 415  
 νόσφιν ἀπὸ φλοίσβου· φυλακὰς δ' ἅς εἴρεαι, ἦρως,  
 οὐ τις κεκριμένη ῥύεται στρατὸν οὐδὲ φυλάσσει.  
 ὅσσαι μὲν Τρώων πυρὸς ἐσχάrai, οἷσιν ἀνάγκη,  
 οἱ δ' ἐγρηγόρθασιν φυλασσέμεναί τε κέλονται  
 ἀλλήλοισ· ἀτὰρ αὖτε πολὺκλητοὶ ἐπίκουροι 420  
 εὐδουσι· Τρωσὶν γὰρ ἐπιτραπέουσι φυλάσσειν·  
 οὐ γάρ σφιν παῖδες σχεδὸν εἶαται οὐδὲ γυναῖκες."

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολὺμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "πῶς γὰρ νῦν, Τρώεσσι μεμιγμένοι ἵπποδάμοισιν  
 εὐδουσ' ἢ ἀπάνευθε; δίειπέ μοι, ὄφρα δαείω." 425

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Δόλων Ἑυμήδεος υἱός·  
 "τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω.  
 πρὸς μὲν ἄλός Κἄρες καὶ Παῖονες ἀγκυλότοξοι  
 καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί,  
 πρὸς Θύμβρης δ' ἔλαχον Λύκιοι Μυσοὶ τ' ἀγέρωχοι 430  
 καὶ Φρύγες ἵππύδαμοι καὶ Μήονες ἵπποκορυσταί.  
 ἀλλὰ τί ἢ ἐμὲ ταῦτα διεξερέεσθε ἕκαστα;  
 εἰ γὰρ δὴ μέματον Τρώων καταδῦναι ὅμιλον,  
 Θρήικες οἷδ' ἀπάνευθε νεήλυδες, ἔσχατοι ἄλλων,



ἐν δέ σφιν Ῥήσος βασιλεύς, πάις Ἡιονῆος· 435  
 τοῦ δὴ καλλίστους ἵππους ἶδον ἠδὲ μεγίστους·  
 λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι.  
 ἄρμα δέ οἱ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ εὖ ἡσκηται·  
 τεύχεα δὲ χρύσεια πελώρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,  
 ἦλυθ' ἔχων· τὰ μὲν οὐ τι καταθνητοῖσιν ἔοικεν 440  
 ἀνδρεσσιν φορέειν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.  
 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν νῦν νηυσὶ πελάσσετον ὠκυπόροισιν,  
 ἡέ με δῆσαντες λίπετ' αὐτόθι νηλεὲς δεσμῶ,  
 ὄφρα κεν ἔλθητον καὶ πειρηθῆτον ἐμεῖο,  
 ἡέ κατ' αἶσαν ἔειπον ἐν ὑμῖν ἦε καὶ οὐκί." 445

*Diomedes slays Dolon, whose armour is offered by Odysseus to Athens. Having marked the spot so as not to miss the spoil on the way back, Odysseus and Diomedes speedily reach the Thracian encampment. Rhesus and his comrades are asleep.*

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·  
 “μὴ δὴ μοι φύξιν γε, Δόλων, ἐμβάλλεο θυμῷ,  
 ἐσθλά περ ἀγγείλας, ἐπεὶ ἴκεο χεῖρας ἐς ἡμάς.  
 εἰ μὲν γάρ κέ σε νῦν ἀπολύσομεν ἡέ μεθῶμεν,  
 ἦ τε καὶ ὕστερον εἰσθα θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν 450  
 ἡέ διοπτεύσων ἡ ἐναντίβιον πολεμήξων·  
 εἰ δέ κ' ἐμῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμείς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσης,  
 οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα σὺ πῆμά ποτ' ἔσσειαι Ἀργεῖοισιν.”

ἦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν μιν ἔμελλε γενεῖον χειρὶ παχείῃ  
 ἀψάμενος λίσσεσθαι, ὁ δ' αὐχένα μέσσον ἔλασσε 455  
 φασγάνῳ αἰξας, ἀπὸ δ' ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντε·  
 φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη.  
 τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κτιδέην κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔλοντο  
 καὶ λυκέην καὶ τόξα παλίντονα καὶ δόρυ μακρόν·

καὶ τὰ γ' Ἀθηναίῃ ληίτιδι δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς 460  
 ὑψόσ' ἀνέσχεθε χειρὶ καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ἠΐδα·  
 “χαῖρε, θεά, τοῖσδεσσι· σὲ γὰρ πρώτην ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ  
 πάντων ἀθανάτων ἐπιβωσόμεθ'· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὶς  
 πέμψον ἐπὶ Θρηκῶν ἀνδρῶν ἵππους τε καὶ εὐνάς.”

ὥς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, καὶ ἀπὸ ἔθεν ὑψόσ' αἰείρας 465  
 θῆκεν ἀνὰ μυρίκην· δέελον δ' ἐπὶ σῆμά τ' ἔθηκεν,  
 συμμάρψας δόνακας μυρίκης τ' ἐριθηλέας ὄζους,  
 μὴ λάθοι αὐτὶς ἰόντε θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν.  
 τὼ δὲ βάτην προτέρω διὰ τ' ἔντεα καὶ μέλαν αἶμα,  
 αἶψα δ' ἐπὶ Θρηκῶν ἀνδρῶν τέλος ἵξον ἰόντες. 470  
 οἱ δ' εὖδον καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες, ἔντεα δέ σφιν  
 καλὰ παρ' αὐτοῖσι χθονὶ κέκλιτο, εὖ κατὰ κόσμον,  
 τριστοιχί· παρὰ δέ σφιν ἐκάστῳ δίζυγες ἵπποι.  
 Ῥῆσος δ' ἐν μέσῳ εὔδε, παρ' αὐτῷ δ' ὠκέες ἵπποι  
 ἐξ ἐπιδιφριάδος πυμάτης ἱμάσι δέδεντο. 475

*Odysseus and Diomedes arrange a division of labour. The latter slays Rhesus and twelve others; the former clears away the dead bodies and drives out the horses into the open. Athene warns Diomedes to tarry no longer.*

τὸν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς προπάροιθεν ἰδὼν Διομήδεϊ δείξεν·  
 “οὗτός τοι, Διόμηδες, ἀνὴρ, οὗτοι δέ τοι ἵπποι,  
 οὓς νῶν πίφαισκε Δόλων, ὃν ἐπέφνομεν ἡμεῖς.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ πρόφερε κρατερὸν μένος· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ  
 ἐστάμεναι μέλεον σὺν τεύχεσιν, ἀλλὰ λυ' ἵππους· 480  
 ἢ σὺ γ' ἄνδρας ἔναιρε, μελήσουσιν δ' ἐμοὶ ἵπποι.”

ὥς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἔμπνευσε μένος γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,  
 κτεῖνε δ' ἐπιστροφάδην· τῶν δὲ στόνος ὄρνυτ' αἰκῆς  
 ἄορι θεινομένων, ἐρυθαίνετο δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

ὥς δὲ λέων μῆλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπελθών, 485  
 αἶγεςιν ἢ οἶεσσι, κακὰ φρονέων ἐνορούση,  
 ὥς μὲν Θρήικας ἄνδρας ἐπώχετο Τυδέος υἱός,  
 ὄφρα δυώδεκ' ἔπεφνεν· ἀτὰρ πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ὃν τινα Τυδεΐδης ἄορι πλήξειε παραστάς,  
 τὸν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μετόπισθε λαβὼν ποδὸς ἐξερύσασκεν, 490  
 τὰ φρονέων κατὰ θυμόν, ὅπως καλλίτριχες ἵπποι  
 ῥεῖα διέλθοιεν μηδὲ τρομεοίατο θυμῷ  
 νεκροῖς ἀμβαίνοντες· ἀήθεσσον γὰρ ἔτ' αὐτῶν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ βασιλῆα κιχήσατο Τυδέος υἱός,  
 τὸν τρισκαιδέκατον μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα 495  
 ἀσθμαίνοντα· κακὸν γὰρ ὄναρ κεφαλῇφιν ἐπέστη  
 [τὴν νύκτ', Οἰνείδαο πάις, διὰ μῆτιν Ἀθήνης.]  
 τόφρα δ' ἄρ' ὁ τλήμων Ὀδυσσεὺς λύε μώνυχας ἵππους,  
 σὺν δ' ἤειρεν ἱμάσι καὶ ἐξήλαυνεν ὀμίλου  
 τόξῳ ἐπιπλήσσω, ἐπεὶ οὐ μάστιγα φαεινὴν 500  
 ποικίλου ἐκ δίφροιο νοήσατο χερσὶν ἐλέσθαι.  
 ῥοιζήσεν δ' ἄρα πιφαύσκων Διομήδεϊ δίῳ·  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ μερμήριζε μένων, ὅ τι κύντατον ἔρδοι,  
 ἢ ὃ γε δίφρον ἐλών, ὅθι ποικίλα τεύχε' ἔκειτο,  
 ῥυμοῦ ἐξερύοι ἢ ἐκφέροι ὑψόσ' αἰείρας, 505  
 ἢ ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων Θρηκῶν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο.  
 εἶος ὁ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα, τόφρα δ' Ἀθήνη  
 ἐγγύθεν ἱσταμένη προσέφη Διομήδεα δῖον·  
 “νόστου δὴ μνήσαι, μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱέ,  
 νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς, μὴ καὶ πεφοβημένος ἔλθῃς· 510  
 μή πού τις καὶ Τρῶας ἐγείρησιν θεὸς ἄλλος.”

ὥς φάθ', ὁ δὲ ξυνέηκε θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης,  
 καρπαλίμως δ' ἵππων ἐπεβήσετο· κόψε δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 τόξῳ, τοῖ δ' ἐπέτοντο θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

*Apollo rouses the Thracian Hippocoon, who perceives the slaughter and raises the alarm.*

οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπιὴν εἶχ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων, 515  
 ὥς ἴδ' Ἀθηναίην μετὰ Τυδέος υἱὸν ἔπουσαν·  
 τῇ κοτέων Τρώων κατεδύσετο πουλὺν ὄμιλον,  
 ὥρσειν δὲ Θρηκῶν βουληφόρον Ἴπποκόωντα,  
 Ῥήσου ἀνεψιὸν ἐσθλόν. ὁ δ' ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνορούσας,  
 ὥς ἴδε χῶρον ἐρήμον, ὅθ' ἔστασαν ὠκέες ἵπποι, 520  
 ἀνδρας τ' ἀσπαίροντας ἐν ἀργαλέησι φοιῇσιν,  
 ὥμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα φίλον τ' ὀνόμηνεν ἑταῖρον.  
 Τρώων δὲ κλαγγή τε καὶ ἄσπετος ὤρτο κυδοιμὸς  
 θυνόντων ἄμυδις· θηεῦντο δὲ μέρμερα ἔργα,  
 ὅσος ἄνδρες ῥέξαντες ἔβαν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας. 525

*Odysseus and Diomedes pick up the spoils of Dolon, and proceed. Nestor is the first to hear the sound of their horses galloping.*

οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἴκανον, ὅθι σκοπὸν Ἑκτορος ἔκταν,  
 ἔνθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν ἔρυξε δίφιλος ὠκέας ἵππους,  
 Τυδεΐδης δὲ χαμᾶζε θορῶν ἔναρα βροτόεντα  
 ἐν χείρεσσ' Ὀδυσῇ τίθει, ἐπεβήσετο δ' ἵππων.  
 μάλιστα δ' ἵππους, τῷ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην 530  
 νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς· τῇ γὰρ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ.  
 Νέστωρ δὲ πρῶτος κτύπον αἶε φώνησέν τε·  
 “ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες,  
 ψεύσομαι ἢ ἔτυμον ἐρέω; κέλεται δέ με θυμός.  
 ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει· 535  
 αἱ γὰρ δὴ Ὀδυσσεὺς τε καὶ ὁ κρατερὸς Διομήδης  
 ὦδ' ἄφαρ ἐκ Τρώων ἐλασαίατο μώνυχας ἵππους.  
 ἀλλ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα, μή τι πάθωσιν  
 Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι ὑπὸ Τρώων ὀρυμαγδοῦ.”

*Odysseus and Diomedes reach the camp. The horses are admired by Nestor, to whom Odysseus briefly relates the issue of the raid.*

οὐ πω πᾶν εἶρητο ἔπος, ὅτ' ἄρ' ἤλυθον αὐτοί. 540  
καί ῥ' οἱ μὲν κατέβησαν ἐπὶ χθόνα, τοὶ δὲ χαρέντες  
δεξιῇ ἡσπάζοντο ἔπεσσί τε μελιχίοισιν.

πρῶτος δ' ἐξερέεινε Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·  
“εἶπ' ἄγε μ', ὦ πολύαιν' Ὀδυσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν,  
ὅπως τούσδ' ἵππους λάβετον· καταδύντες ὄμιλον 545  
Τρώων; ἢ τίς σφωε πόρεν θεὸς ἀντιβολήσας;  
αἰνῶς ἀκτίνεσσιν ἐοικότες ἡελίοιο.

αἰεὶ μὲν Τρώεσσ' ἐπιμίσσομαι, οὐδέ τί φημι  
μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσί, γέρων περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής·  
ἀλλ' οὐ πω τοίους ἵππους ἴδον οὐδὲ νόησα. 550  
ἀλλὰ τιν' ὑμμ' οἶω δόμεναι θεὸν ἀντιάσαντα·  
ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ σφῶι φιλεῖ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς  
κούρη τ' αἰγιόχοιο Διός, γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.”

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
“ὦ Νέστορ Νηληιάδη, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν, 555  
ρεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ ἀμείνονας; ἢ περ οἶδε,  
ἵππους δωρήσαιτ', ἐπεὶ ἢ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν.  
ἵπποι δ' οἶδε, γεραιέ, νεήλυδες, οὓς ἐρεεῖνεις,  
Θρηάκιοι· τὸν δέ σφιν ἄνακτ' ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης  
ἔκτανε, παρ δ' ἐτάρους δυοκαίδεκα πάντας ἀρίστους.  
τὸν τρισκαιδέκατον σκοπὸν εἴλομεν ἐγγύθι νηῶν, 561  
τόν ῥα διοπτῆρα στρατοῦ ἔμμεναι ἡμετέροιο  
Ἐκτωρ τε προέηκε καὶ ἄλλοι Τρώες ἀγανοί.”

*The horses are taken to Diomedes's stables, the spoils of Dolon to Odysseus' ship. The two heroes bathe themselves and sit down to meat.*

ὥς εἰπὼν τάφροιο διήλασε μώνυχας ἵππους  
καγχαλῶν· ἅμα δ' ἄλλοι ἴσαν χαίροντες Ἀχαιοί. 565  
οἱ δ' ὅτε Τυδεΐδew κλισίην εὐτυκτον ἵκοντο,  
ἵππους μὲν κατέδησαν εὐτμήτοισιν ἱμάσιν  
φάτιγῃ ἐφ' ἰππείῃ, ὅθι περ Διομήδεος ἵπποι  
ἔστασαν ὠκύποδες μελιηδέα πυρὸν ἔδοντες,  
νῆι δ' ἐνὶ πρυμνῇ ἔναρα βροτόεντα Δόλῳτος 570  
θῆκ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅφρ' ἱρὸν ἐτοιμασσαΐατ' Ἀθήνη.  
αὐτοὶ δ' ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσση  
ἐσβάντες, κνήμας τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἀμφί τε μηρούς.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σφιν κῦμα θαλάσσης ἰδρῶ πολλὸν  
νίψεν ἀπὸ χρωτὸς καὶ ἀνέψυχθεν φίλον ἦτορ, 575  
ἔς ῥ' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐυξέστας λούσαντο.  
τῷ δὲ λοεσσαμένῳ καὶ ἀλειψαμένῳ λίπ' ἐλαίῳ  
δείπνῳ ἐφίζανέτην, ἀπὸ δὲ κρητῆρος Ἀθήνη  
πλείου ἀφυσσόμενοι λείβον μελιηδέα οἶνον.



## NOTES.

*Monro's 'Homeric Grammar' is frequently indicated in references on points of grammar by the letters H. G.*

## BOOK IX.

1. **ἔχον.** The presence or absence of the augment in the formation of the imperfect, pluperfect and aorist in Homer is determined entirely by metrical convenience. Cf. 9. 3 βεβολήατο; 9. 12 πονεῖτο etc. Even where the metre is unaffected the augment is sometimes omitted, cf. 1. 79 ἡδὲ πύθοντο (not ἡδ' ἐπίθοντο), 1. 86 ἅμα στεῖχον (not ἅμ' ἔστειχον). But in compound verbs the augment regularly occurs (e.g. μεταφώνεε, not μεταφώνεε) except in cases of syncope due to metrical convenience, as κάββαλεν for κατέβαλεν.

2. **φύζα...φόβος.** Both these words originally meant 'flight,' the result rather than the sensation of fear. In Homer φύζα develops the further meaning of 'fear,' while φόβος is more strictly confined to its primary sense, as witness the phrases φόβονδε τρωπᾶσθαι, ἀλίσσειν (*Il.* 15. 666; 17. 379). Translate "Panic, handmaid of chill repulse" (Leaf).

3. **βεβολήατο.** The anomalous perfect βεβόλημαι, as if from a verb βολέω, is said to have been preferred to βέβλημαι, the regular formation from βάλλω, when applied to *mental* blows or wounds. Such certainly is its application in the other two passages also in which it occurs, 1. 9, and *Od.* 10. 247. But this may be merely a coincidence from which an inference as to general usage has been wrongly drawn.

For the termination -ατο (= -ντο) see note on 10. 189.

5. The only sea which could be affected by the violence of the north and the west winds, both blowing from Thrace, is the Propontis (Sea of Marmora), and the shore which they strew with seaweed must be on the Asiatic side of that sea. The author of this simile must therefore have been familiar with, if not an inhabitant of, the extreme north of Asia Minor. It must not however be inferred that the author of the whole of this book or of the whole *Iliad* dwelt in that region.

**Βορέης**—dissyllable, as it were Βῶρῆς: some edd. prefer Βορρῆς.

8. The simile, as usual in Homer, is worked out in picturesque and superfluous detail. The only point of comparison is the conflict of two winds with the conflict of two emotions in Agamemnon's mind.

9. **βεβολημένος**. See note on l. 3.

10. **φοίτα**. For omission of augment see note on l. 1.

11. **κλήδην ἕκαστον**. 'Each man by name.' No noise was to be made, lest the enemy should take the alarm.

13, 14. **ἄν** (for **ἀνὰ**) with **ἵστατο**. The separation of the adverb from the verb with which it is, in thought, united is the grammatical figure known as *tnesis* (i.e. 'cutting' or 'division'). The term is a misnomer, inasmuch as the so-called prepositions compounded with verbs were in reality adverbs, at first separate from them and qualifying them merely in the same way as any other adverb (εἰ, κακῶς etc.), but afterwards, owing to the frequency with which the same qualification of the same verb was required (e.g. the qualification of **ἵστημι** by **ἀνὰ**), coalescing into one word with the verb. In Homer the coalescence is as yet incomplete, and later Greek always bore a trace of it in the position of the augment in compound verbs not before, but after, the so-called preposition. The compound verbs of German exhibit a similar, though more strictly regulated, condition of incomplete coalescence of verb and adverb.

14. **μελάνυδρος**. It might be expected that a waterfall would appear white against the rock rather than black. This however is frequently not the case in Greek scenery. The fall of the Styx, for example, in north Arcadia appears at a distance as a dark line down the grey face of the precipice, and from this appearance is known among the modern inhabitants of the district as **μαῦρο νερό**, 'Black Water.'

15. **αἰγίλιπος**. The old and picturesque derivation of this word from **αἶξ** (**αἰγός**) and the root of **λείπω** affords the meaning 'deserted (even) by goats,' i.e. 'very steep.' This should not be too hastily rejected. It is true that **αἰγόλιψ** rather than **αἰγίλιψ** would be a more

familiar formation (cf. αἰγότριψ, 'trodden by goats,' Dion. Hal. 19. 12); but on the other hand we find αἰγωνόμος as well as αἰγονόμος, αἰγιπόδης and αἰγίπους as well as αἰγοπόδης. For -ῖ stems in words of archaic stamp see *H. G.* p. 83. Another proposed derivation is from αἰγίς in the sense of 'storm,' and a questionable root λιπ-, found in λελιμμένος, meaning to 'love' (Göbel followed by Leaf). Hence the meaning 'storm-haunted.'

This meaning of αἰγίς as found in Aesch. *Choeph.* 592 and of the compound καταγίς, is usually explained by deriving direct from αἰσσω. It is however noteworthy that the marine phenomenon known to us as 'white horses' was called by the Greeks αἶγες (Artem. *Oneirocr.* 2. 12). Is it not possible then that αἰγίς was originally applied to that tempestuous state of the sea in which 'white horses,' i.e. waves breaking out at sea, are observed, just as the kindred word αἰγιαλός denoted the place where waves always are breaking, the shore? Such a meaning of αἰγίς would, by an easy extension of meaning, come to denote on the one hand any squall or storm of wind (cf. ἐπαγίγῃω, καταγίγῃω) such as raises the waves and causes them to break, and on the other hand possibly (as in the passage before us) any broken or falling water, whether of sea or river. The combination of αἰγίς in this latter sense with a root λιπ-, meaning to 'trickle,' 'drip,' or 'glide,' found in the kindred words λίπος, λείβω, ἀλείφω, would furnish an epithet for πέτρῃ eminently suited to the passage, 'a rock where broken water trickles down.'

20. ἀπονέεσθαι. First syllable lengthened by *ictus*: cf. final syllable of ὑπερμενέι, l. 23.

28. ἔτι is frequently used in Greek in strong assertions concerning the future, whether affirmative or negative. In English we employ 'yet' in the same sense, but only in positive statements; for strong negative asseveration 'never' is the corresponding idiom. Thus Τροίην αἰρήσομεν ἔτι = 'we will take Troy yet'; οὐκ ἔτι Τροίην αἰρήσομεν = 'we shall never take Troy.'

30. ἄνεω. The spelling with *ε* subscript has the preponderance of MS. authority. It is best therefore to regard the word as nom. plur. masc. of an adjective ἀνεως, 'voiceless.' In all passages save one (*Od.* 23. 93) there is no difficulty in this supposition; there however it is used with a feminine singular subject. This must be explained either as due to an erroneous belief that ἄνεω or ἀνεω was an adverb, or the word in that passage must be corrected to ἀνεως.

30—36. Ἀχαιῶν... Δαναοῖσιν... Ἀργείων. For the designations of the Greek forces see below on 10. 1.

34. The allusion is to 4. 370 ff. where Agamemnon had addressed Diomedes in the words,

τί πτώσσεις, τί δ' ὀπιπτεύεις πολέμοιο γεφύρας;

37. διάνδιχα, 'by halves,' 'one of two things.'

40. μάλα ἔλπειαι. Apparent hiatus due to the digamma in *ἔλπειαι*. See Introd. p. xxix. The root *ἔλπ-* is seen in Latin *volutas*. Translate 'expect,' not 'hope.'

44. "Rejected by Aristarchus as interpolated merely to supply a verb, which is not required, in the last clause of l. 43" (Leaf).

46. διαπέρσομεν. This form is to be regarded as 1st aor. subj. rather than as fut. indic., the construction being the same as that of *εἰς ὃ κε...εἴρωμεν*, l. 49. The formation of the Homeric subjunctive varies according as the tense to which it belongs is Thematic or Non-thematic. A thematic form is one in which a vowel (ε or ο) is interposed between the stem and the personal suffix, e.g. λέγ-ο-μεν, λέγ-ε-τε; a non-thematic form is one in which the personal suffix follows immediately upon the stem, e.g. ἔλεξ-α, -ας, -ε. In practice, the whole present tense of verbs in -ω came to be treated as thematic; the whole first aorist as non-thematic. Now the rule for the formation of subjunctives is briefly this, that thematic forms with ε or ο in the indicative show η and ω respectively in the subjunctive, e.g. indic. λέγ-ο-μεν, λέγ-ε-τε, subj. λέγ-ω-μεν, λέγ-η-τε; while non-thematic forms, not having ε or ο in the indicative, employ those letters in the formation of the subjunctive. The resulting forms are thus often indistinguishable from those of the future indicative. See Introd. p. xxiv.

46—7. εἰ δὲ...φευγόντων. εἰ does not here introduce a subordinate conditional clause, but is joined with the imperative as commonly in the phrase εἰ δ' ἄγε (e.g. l. 167). Cf. l. 262 εἰ δὲ σὺ μὲν μευ ἄκουσον, 'come now, hearken thou unto me.' Similarly in wishes introduced by εἴθε, εἰ γάρ, or simply εἰ, the optative following expresses the wish in virtue of mood alone, and εἰ is an adverb rather than a conjunction. Translate 'Aye, let them flee too.'

52. ἱππότα. The same suffix occurs in several other Homeric epithets, e.g. ἱππηλάτα (l. 432), εὐρύοπα (l. 419), νεφεληγερέτα (10. 552). These forms used to be regarded as vocatives which from common association, as titles of respect, with the name of the person addressed, ousted the true nominative (ending in -ης) even when the person was no longer addressed directly but was mentioned in the third person. More probably they are remnants of the old Aeolic or Achaean dialect in which the poems were composed, and were restrained by the metre

from subsequently assuming an Ionic form. A marked feature of the Achæan dialect was βαρυτόνησις, i.e. avoidance of the oxytone accent, in which point it coincides with Latin. Now the effect of this tendency in Latin was to shorten final syllables (cf. Gk. ποιητής, Lat. *poeta*): the same effect from the same cause is therefore reasonably inferred for the Achæan dialect.

54. **μετά** with accusative seems here to bear the unusual meaning 'among,' with no thought of motion. A closely similar passage is *Od.* 16. 419. Cf. also the phrase *μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχειν* (*Thuc.* 1. 138) = 'to have in hand.' In the same way *παρά* is frequently used with the accusative instead of the dative to denote position in, not motion to, a place.

**ἐπλευ.** Ionic contraction of *ἐπλεο*, which is probably the true Homeric form, and with elision of the final *ο* before *ἄριστος* is equally compatible with the metre. The tense is aorist (syncopated) of *πέλομαι*.

57. 'Yet verily thou art but young, and mightest be my youngest son.' The tone is half apologetic for any disparagement implied in l. 56.

58. **γενεήφιν.** The case-ending *-φιν* belonged originally to the Instrumental case. But in Homeric usage it comprises not only instrumental, but also locative and ablatival meanings, and, in rare instances, those of the true dative and true genitive. Instances of instrumental meaning are *ἐτέρηφιν*, 'with the other hand' (*Il.* 16. 734), *βιηφιν*, 'by force' (*Il.* 16. 826); of this usage the present passage is a weaker example. Instances of the locative meaning are *Φθίηφιν*, 'in Phthia' (*Il.* 19. 323), *κλισίηφιν*, 'in the tent' (*Il.* 13. 168). Instances of the ablatival meaning are *ναῦφιν ἀφορμηθεῖεν*, 'start from the ships' (*Il.* 2. 794), *ἀπὸ μὲν...κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔλόντο*, 'they took off the helmet from his head' (*Il.* 10. 458). (*H. G.* pp. 110—1.)

58—9. Of the two accusatives governed by *βάσεις*, *πεπνυμένα* is 'internal' or 'cognate,' while *βασίλῃας* is direct object. See below on l. 115.

60. **σεῖο.** This form is etymologically the earliest of the three forms of the gen. sing. of the 2nd pers. pronoun which are commonly found in Homer, *σεῖο*, *σέο*, and *σεῦ*. It is formed by adding the genitive termination *-σιο* (familiar with substantival stems in *ο*, as *δημο-σιο*, whence *δήμιοι*, *δήμοο*, *δήμου*) to the pronominal stem *σε-*; from the resultant form *σε-σιο* there come in order, by the same process as in the substantival example, *σεῖο*, *σέο*, *σεῦ*. For the alternative (but not true genitive) form *σέθεν* see below on l. 419.



61. *ἔξείπω καὶ πάντα διῶμαι*. The aorist subjunctive (*ἔξείπω*) is here equivalent in sense to a pure future, and is consequently easily coordinated with the fut. indic. *διῶμαι*. The coincidence of many forms of the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive (see above on l. 46) may have facilitated such coordination and interchange.

62. *ἀτιμήσειε*. Elision of the final *ε* in the termination *-ειε* is rare; but both here and in l. 386 (*πείσειε*) the optative with elision appears preferable to the future indic. (*ἀτιμήσει*, or *πείσει*) with hiatus.

63. 'Cut off from clan and law and home.' As the *ἑστία*, or family hearth, is the basis of patriarchal society, so when several families began to unite, or a single family to expand, into a tribe, the *φράτρα* becomes the social unit. In later times, at Athens, the *φράτρα* stood midway between the *γένος* (= 'family' in a large sense) and the *φύλη* ('tribe'). As the people gradually obtained a larger voice in politics, the bond of family became a bond of party, and clan-feuds arose. It was the great achievement of Cleisthenes' constitution that it suppressed such feuds by dividing the people for political purpose not according to family but according to locality. For *θέμιστες* see below on l. 99.

64. *ἐπιδημίου κρυόντος*. The reading of the MSS. is *ἐπιδημίου δκρυόντος*. The form *δκρυόεις* occurs only here and in *Il. G. 344* (*κυνὸς κακομηχάνου δκρυόεσσης*). Elsewhere the word occurs in the correct form *κρυόεις* (cf. *κρύος*, *κρυερός* etc.). Since in both cases it is possible to restore the correct form by the simple expedient of resolving the final *-ου* of the preceding genitive into *-οο*, its older form (see note on l. 60), there need be no hesitation in rejecting an unwarrantable form which may be due entirely to confusion with the similar word *δκριόεις* (from *δκρις*) 'rugged.' For other passages in which the genitive in *-οο* should be restored see *Il. G. p. 60*, and note on l. 440.

66. *ἐφοπλισόμεσθα*. Aor. subj. mid. See above on l. 46.

69. *βασιλεύτατος*. The position of Agamemnon in relation to the other chieftains who are all called *βασιλῆς* is concisely expressed in the sentence with which the enumeration of his forces in the Catalogue concludes:—

*πᾶσιν δὲ μετέπρεπεν ἡρώεσσιν*

*οὐνεκ' ἄριστος ἔην, πολὺ δὲ πλείστους ἄγε λαούς.* (*Il. 2. 584.*)

He is *ἄριστος* because his lineage is traced back to Zeus, and the very sceptre which has been handed down to him from Pelops is of divine handiwork. 'Hephaestus wrought it for Zeus, and Zeus gave it to his messenger Hermes to deliver to Pelops.' To this hereditary distinction is added the fact that the dominion which he holds in Greece is of



greater extent and importance than that of any other chieftain (see below on ll. 150—2). In the conclave of 'kings' (βασιλῆες) Agamemnon is recognized as 'most kingly' (βασιλεύτατος), and the part which was played by each king among his nobles at home in his own domain, is assumed by Agamemnon of right among the assembled kings. The kingship of the Homeric days was, in Thucydides' phrase, "patriarchal, with defined privileges." The king was at once priest, judge, and leader in war, but in none of these capacities was he despotic. He deferred to the seers in matters of religion; he was assisted by his nobles in the administration of justice, and consulted them on questions of war. Such deliberations were conducted openly in the ἀγορά, and freedom of speech was allowed to the nobles. The common folk might attend and express approval of this or that opinion by acclamation. The prerogatives of the king comprised a large share in the distribution of spoil, and the possession of a private domain (τέμενος).

73. **πᾶσα ὑποδέξῃ.** 'Thou hast all means of hospitality.' The following clause may be either explanatory, 'for thou art lord over many,' or may add a further suggestion that not only the means but also the duty of hospitality is Agamemnon's.

75. **χρεώ,** which is a substantive, is regularly construed with acc. of person and gen. of thing needed, cf. 10. 43.

80. **σὺν τεύχεσιν.** This is one of the few uses of σὺν which was retained in Attic; σὺν ὅπλοις = 'under arms.'

87. The trench is conceived as being at some distance outside the wall, cf. 10. 194 ff.

89. **ἀολλέας.** Derived from α- (properly ἀ = σμ) 'together,' as in ἀθρόος, ἀλοχος, ἀκοιτις etc., and the root of εἶλω. Hence 'massed together.'

96 ff. The address is formal and reverent. The divine right of kings was generally acknowledged in the Homeric age. Agamemnon has sceptre and judgement entrusted to him by Zeus, cf. l. 155, **θεὸν ὧς τιμήσουσι**, which need not be regarded as mere oratorical hyperbole, and Aeschylus' description of Agamemnon and Menelaus as

διθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκήπτρου

τιμῆς ὄχυρόν ζεύγος Ἀτρεϊδῶν.

(Agam. 43—4.)

99. **σκήπτρόν τ' ἡδὲ θέμιστας.** The sceptre was the symbol of sovereignty and possession; of the royal house it was a permanent attribute (see above on l. 69); but also a speaker in the ἀγορά held a sceptre in his hand as a sign that he was, in our phrase, 'in possession of the house.' **Θέμιστες** denote the judicial function of the king as

opposed to the political. They correspond to the Saxon 'dooms,' being principles of justice founded on precedents established by individual cases. A judgement pronounced in one case held good for subsequent cases of the same nature, written and codified law being as yet unknown. Justice being administered by the king, it was natural to regard his knowledge of *θέμιστες*, like the wisdom of Solomon, as a direct gift from God.

100. *πέρι*, adverbial, = 'above all,' cf. above l. 55. 'Therefore for thee above all is it meet to speak and to give ear.'

102. *εἰς ἀγαθόν*, 'for good,' 'with a view to good.'

*σέο δ' ἔξεται*... Whatever another begins (by suggesting it) will cling to you, i.e. you will be responsible for giving effect to the plan, and the credit of it will redound to you.

106. *ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ, ὅτε*, 'ever since that time when.'

*Βρισηίδα*. See *Intro.* p. ix.

109. *μεγαλήτορι*, 'high-minded,' 'proud,' in a bad sense, cf. l. 255.

111. *ἐλὼν... ἔχεις*. Not merely 'thou hast taken,' but 'thou didst take and dost keep.'

112. *πεπίθωμεν*, reduplicated second aorist, cf. *πεφιθέσθαι*, to spare; *λελαβέσθαι*, to seize. See *H. G.* p. 27.

115. Of the two accusatives governed by *κατέλεξας*, *ψεύδος* is cognate accusative and *ἅτας* direct object. The construction is parallel to that of ll. 58—9 (q. v.) where *βάξεις* in the sense of 'address' governs *βασιλῆας* as direct object while admitting *πεπνυμένα* as cognate accusative, just as here *κατέλεξας* in the sense of 'recount' governs *ἅτας* directly and admits *ψεύδος* as cognate accusative.

*ἅτας*. *ἄτη* is properly the infatuation of mind which leads men to commit sins which inevitably must bring their own punishment. It combines the idea of folly with that of sin. By an extension of use, it may mean the actual sin committed under such infatuation. For this second meaning the plural is better adapted, in proportion as it is necessarily more concrete, than the singular; for a pure abstraction can have no plural. Translate therefore, 'No falsehood is thy record of my sins of folly; foolishly I sinned, I deny it not.'

116. *ἀντί*... 'A good exchange for,' 'worth,' many hosts.

120. *ἄπερείσιος*. By interchange of quantity for *ἀπειρέσιος* (which also is found in Homer) = 'boundless.'

122. *ἄπυρρος τρίποδας*. The significance of *ἄπυρρος* is disputed. According to one interpretation it means 'not intended for use on the fire' as opposed to *ἐμπυρζήτης* (*Il.* 23. 702); tripods intended for

ornament only were certainly known in antiquity, as for instance the votive tripods at Delphi, some of which were made even of gold. But if that be the meaning, how comes it that Homer applies the epithet ἀπύρωτος, which is presumably the same as ἄπυρος, to the word φιάλη (*Il.* 23. 270)? φιάλη means a drinking-cup such as would evidently not be put on the fire. A cup offered as a prize in an athletic contest does not need to be labelled 'not to be put on the fire.' The second interpretation is 'never yet put on the fire' i.e. 'new'; but the same objection here holds in the case of the φιάλη, while even in relation to a tripod the epithet is strange. Are we really to understand Agamemnon to be assuring Achilles that the cooking utensils which he offers are not second-hand?

I suggest that ἄπυρος denotes not the use of the vessel but the method of its manufacture, 'hand-beaten from the cold metal' as opposed to 'wrought by fire,' i.e. 'cast' (πυρίκμητος, applied to λέβης in *Call. Del.* 145). The more highly skilled workmanship enhances the value whether of a τρίπους or a φιάλη.

**χρυσοῖο τάλαντα.** The Homeric poems contain no mention of coinage. The unit of value for purposes of barter was the ox. Thus we hear of two suits of armour valued at nine oxen and at one hundred oxen respectively (*Il.* 6. 236), and of a slave-woman estimated to be worth four oxen (*Il.* 23. 705). But a less cumbersome medium of exchange was already known. A certain weight of gold, called a 'talent,' was adopted as the equivalent of an ox, and it is in this relation only that the word τάλαντον is used by Homer. See Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, cap. 1.

124. **πηγούς**, 'compact,' 'well-knit,' 'strong.' From the same root as πήγνυμι.

125. **τόσσα.** Antecedent of ὅσσα (*l.* 127).

125—6. **ἀλῆιος...ἀκτήμων.** In view of *ll.* 406—7,

ληιστοὶ μὲν γὰρ τε βόες καὶ ἱφία μῆλα,

κτητοὶ δὲ τρίποδες τε καὶ ἵππων ξανθὰ κάρηνα,

in which Achilles, in rejecting Agamemnon's offer, seems to retort to these very words, it is necessary to take ἀλῆιος as derived from λῆις (booty), not from λῆιον (crop of corn). See Ridgeway, *The Homeric Land-System*, in *J. H. S.* vol. VI.

129—30. **ἔλεν** = 'took,' 'captured'; ἐξελόμην = 'chose out.'

132. **κούρην.** So MSS. Accusative due to attraction to case of the relative ἣν, cf. *Arist. Plutus*, 933,

ἀλλ' οἷχεται φεύγων ὃν ἦγες μάρτυρα.

133. μή is idiomatically used in oaths in preference to οὐ, not only where the infinitive follows, but even with the present and future indicative. See below on 10. 329.

137. χρυσοῦ...χαλκοῦ. The genitives are due to the notion of 'filling' contained in νησάσθω, which in virtue of meaning takes the same construction as πίμπλημι, πλήρης, μεστός etc.

138. εἰσελθών. Best taken as repeating the thought of l. 136, = 'when once he has got into the city.'

141. Ἄργος Ἀχαικόν. Achaean Argos is used by Homer in three senses, (1) as the city to which the name was confined in later times, (2) as the plain in which the city of Argos was by position dominant, the later Argolis, (3) as the whole Peloponnese, so that Corinth could be spoken of as lying "in a corner of horse-rearing Argos" (*Il.* 6. 152). The epithet 'Achaean' is not otiose, but serves to distinguish the southern Argos, in whichever of these three senses it is used, from a 'Pelasgian' Argos in North Greece.

οὐθαρ ἀρούρης, 'udder of the soil,' i.e. 'fertile soil,' cf. Vergil's *uber agri* and O.T. "a land flowing with milk and honey." The expression occurs only here and in the repetition of the offer to Achilles in l. 283.

143. τηλύγετος. The most satisfactory interpretation of this difficult and much discussed word makes it equivalent to ἐφηβος, a youth past childhood and short of manhood, 'grown big' but not 'grown up' (τέλειος). This meaning is obtained by connecting τηλυ- with the root of θάλλω, and still more closely perhaps with the word τάλις, a girl of marriageable age, a bride.

145. Laodice and Iphianassa correspond to Electra and Iphigenia of the tragedians. The story of the sacrifice of Iphigenia in Aulis is non-Homeric.

146. φίλην, with ἀγέσθω, 'let him take her for his own.' This is a clear instance of the use of φίλος in its original possessive sense. Etymologically it stands for σφίλος, showing the same root as Latin *su-us*. It is supposed that in this word as in the pronoun σφε, the sigma roughened the *f* into *φ*, being itself subsequently lost from (σ)φίλος, but retained in σφε.

ἀνάδνον. ἔδνα, in the earliest sense of the word, are presents made to the parents of the bride by the bridegroom, i.e. purchase-money paid for a wife. Nowhere is this primitive idea of marriage as a matter of buying and selling more clearly seen than in *Il.* 11. 241—5, where pity is expressed for Iphidamas because, having bought an expensive wife, he

died young and "saw no joy of her, though he gave much price." It is commonly said that in the *Odyssey* the meaning of *ἐδνα* is changed, and that, instead of meaning purchase-money paid by the suitor to the father of the bride, it denotes sometimes gifts made by the suitor to the girl herself, sometimes a dowry given to the girl by her father on her marriage. On reviewing the passages cited in support of these two senses, I find none in which *ἐδνα* cannot bear its earliest sense of purchase-money.

Women, in fact, were obtained by one of two recognized and equally honourable methods of acquisition, plunder and bargain (see above, note on 125—6). It is interesting to observe a formal survival of the former method and a real survival of the latter in Modern Greece. In Euboea and in Thessaly a pretence is made by the bridegroom's mounted escort of forcibly abducting the girl from her mounted escort (father, brothers, etc.), and though there be no real hostility, the custom is often realistically enough observed to occasion a few broken heads. In Maina (the middle of the three southernmost peninsulas of Greece) a man still has to buy his bride from her father.

147. *μέλια*. Not technical as 'dowry,' but general as 'soothing,' 'propitiatory,' gifts.

150—2. The seven cities enumerated were in Messenia, a district as remote as any in the Peloponnese from Argolis, the proper domain of Agamemnon, and they would more naturally fall under the sway of Nestor, lord of Pylos. The passage seems to indicate that the house of Atreus enjoyed more than a mere title of suzerainty over the Peloponnese.

153. *νέαται Πύλου*. *νέατος* is explained either as a superl. of *νέος*, = 'latest,' 'furthest,' or as from a root *ni* ('down') = 'nethermost' (the latter preferred by Leaf, note on 5. 539). In either case we may translate 'on the borders,' or 'extremities,' of Pylos, which is here used seemingly (like Argos) not of the town only, but of the district of which that town was the capital.

155. *οἷ κε...τιμήσουσι*. The insertion of *κε* in such clauses implies that the event foretold is conditional upon some contingency,—here, on Achilles' acceptance of the conciliation offered. It is impossible in the Homeric usage of *κε* to draw a hard and fast line and to say 'Here *κε* is an adjunct of the pronoun or conjunction (*ὅς*, *ὥς*, *ὅφρα* etc.), there a qualification of the mood of the verb.' Although some premonition of later usage may be found in Homer (as in the fact that *κε* is always joined with *εἰός* and *εἰς ὃ* when a subjunctive is to follow), the well-regulated precision of Attic idiom had yet to be evolved. It is often



difficult to say whether the future indic. with *κε* in a relative clause expresses mere natural sequence or purpose. In the case before us there is little or no finality: but in 10. 44 the same construction expresses purpose as clearly as does the fut. indic. (without *κε* or *αν*) in a relative clause in Attic.

156. *λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας*, 'will perform his comfortable ordinances.' For this use of *λιπαρός* cf. *Od.* 11. 136, where it is applied to *γῆρας* ('old age'). It was also a favourite epithet with the Athenians for their 'prosperous' city (*Ar. Ach.* 639). The phrase has also been explained as meaning 'will pay rich dues,' but such a sense of *θέμιστες* is incompatible with the regular usage of Homer (see note on l. 99).

157. *μεταλλήξαντι*, conditional use of the participle, = *εἰ μεταλλήξειεν*.

164. *διδούς*, 'offer.'

165. *ὀτρύνομεν*, aorist subjunctive. See above on l. 46.

167. *τοὺς ἂν ἐπιόψομαι*. For the future indic. in a relative clause with *ἂν* see note on l. 155; and for the general interchange of fut. indic. and aor. subj. see note on l. 61. *τοὺς ἂν* = *οὓς ἂν*, and *δέ* marks the apodosis.

168. Phoenix, though named first, is not regarded as an ambassador. As one of Achilles' retinue, he is told off to conduct (*ἡγησάσθω*) the two ambassadors Ajax and Odysseus, who are attended also by two heralds. In the subsequent account of the embassy, all but the two ambassadors are ignored as being merely attendants, and the dual is repeatedly used (ll. 182, 197 etc.). Phoenix takes no part in the pleadings with Achilles, until Odysseus as spokesman of the embassy has delivered the message with which they were charged and has received Achilles' reply. Then it is proper enough that he should speak, for Achilles ends by bidding him sleep in his tent that night and sail home with him next day if he will. Only those who choose to make a critical mountain out of an Homeric molehill, will find sufficient cause for suspecting that the whole episode of Phoenix is an interpolation.

175. *ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο*. The root of *στέψω* is the same as appears in the Latin *stīps*, and denotes 'compression,' 'density' or 'fulness.' The sense of 'crowning' was a development from this. There is therefore no metaphor in this phrase, which means 'they filled the mixing-bowls (*κρητῆρας*) full of drink.' The genitive (*ποτοῖο*) regularly follows a verb of this meaning; see above on l. 137.

176. *πᾶσιν*, masculine, not in agreement with *δεπάεσσιν*.

*ἐπαρξάμενοι*. *ἐπάρχομαι* (like *κατάρχομαι* which was more frequent in later Greek, but occurs only once in Homer) is used of the formal



opening of a religious ceremony. Possibly the attendants in ladling out the wine from the mixing-bowl into the cups (*δεπάεσσιν*) poured first a few drops as a libation; or else *ἐπαρξάμενοι* may indicate merely that they observed the proper ritual in handing the cups to the guests in order from left to right.

180. *δενδύλλων*. A rare epic word, occurring nowhere else in Homer. Transl. 'glancing quickly at each.'

182. For the use of the dual see above on l. 168.

184. *πεπιθεῖν*. The subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the main verb. 'Praying to Poseidon that *they* (not *he*) may persuade etc.'

186. *τόν*, sc. Achilles.

187. *ζυγόν*. The cross-bar between the two horns of the lyre.

188. *ἄρετο*. Second aorist middle (unaugmented) from *αἶρω*, = 'carried off,' 'won.'

*Ἡετίων* was king of Thebe (in Cilicia) and father of Andromache, the wife of Hector.

189. *κλέα*. This and kindred forms of the plural of neuter nouns present some difficulty. *κλέα*, *δέπα*, and *κέρα* are only found before hiatus, and might well be explained as contractions of *κλέεᾱ* into *κλέᾱ*, *δέπαᾱ* into *δέπᾱ*, and *κέραᾱ* into *κέρᾱ*, the final syllable becoming short only in hiatus, were it not that an analogous form *γέρα* occurs in l. 334 (q. v.) and elsewhere with -ᾱ before a consonant. It is possible that, *κλέα* etc. being never used except in hiatus when the original -ᾱ became shortened by position, the true quantity was lost, and *γέρᾱ* was used before a consonant on false analogy.

191. *δέγμενος*. For form and signification see below on l. 628.

192. *προτέρω*, adverb (not dual of *πρότερος*) = 'forward' (cf. l. 199), or possibly, with more comparative sense, 'in front of the others.'

196. *δεικνύμενος*, properly 'pointing at,' i.e. stretching out the hand in token of welcome. The word is specially used of drinking a toast to anyone, cf. l. 224.

197. *ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ*. 'I had sore need of you.' The phrase is also translated 'you must have had sore need of me.' The latter appears to me too discourteous even for a moment of surprise.

203. *ζωρότερον*. 'Stronger.' Rendered in Latin by Martial (VIII. 6. 11) *vividius*, evidently on the assumption that *ζωρός* is for *ζω-ερός* = 'lively.'

204. *οἱ*. Translate as the demonstrative pronoun, not as the article.

206. *ὃ γέ* = Achilles.

208. **σνὸς σιάλοιο.** Both words are substantives, *σνὸς* being generic and *σίαλος* specific. Similarly in *Il.* 17. 389 we have *ταῦροιο βοός*, where the generic *βοός* is more strictly defined by *ταῦρος*, and in *Od.* 13. 87 *ἱρηξ κίρκος*, where *κίρκος* denotes the particular kind of hawk (*ἱρηξ*). See also below on 10. 13.

209. **τῷ δ' ἔχεν,** 'held (the meat) for him.'

210. **μιστυλλε.** *μιστύλλειν* is not 'to mince,' but 'to cut into small pieces' such as being threaded on the spit will most quickly be roasted. The roasting was done over the hot embers. Meat is commonly cooked by the peasants of Modern Greece *à la Homérique*, but with this difference, that there are no supports (*κρατευταί* l. 214) on either side of the fire for the horizontal spit, which is now both held and turned with the hand.

214. **ἀλὸς θείοιο.** The reason for applying the epithet 'divine' to salt, is either that salt owing to its purifying quality was used in sacrifices to the gods (Leaf), or that it was a symbol of the chief of Greek virtues, hospitality.

The genitive is a genitive of material, which in Monro's view is a subdivision of the 'quasi-partitive' genitive. The genitive of material, he says, "is found with verbs that imply the use of a material (especially one of indefinite quantity), a stock drawn upon, etc." (*H. G.* p. 107). Translate 'sprinkled with salt.'

219. **τοίχου.** Local genitive. Cf. *Il.* 17. 372 *νέφος δ' οὐ φαίνεται πάσης γαίης οὐτ' ὀρέων*. See *H. G.* p. 104.

224. **δείδεκτο.** The Homeric method of drinking a toast to anyone was similar to our own. The word *δείδεκτο* means properly, 'he pointed out' (cf. l. 196 and note), as the one whose health should be drunk. The later Greek fashion was to take a sip from the cup and then hand it to the person whose health was drunk to be finished by him (*προπίνειν*).

229. **εἰσορόωντες.** Homeric verbs in *-αω* are liable to assimilation of concurrent vowels; thus we find *ὀρώω* for *ὀράω*, *ὀράας* for *ὀράεις*. The vowel-change is on the same system as in contracted forms, viz. that *ο* or *ω* prevails over *α*, and *α* over *ε* or *η*. In the participle *ὀρόωντες*, the shortening of *ᾱ* into *ο̄* which accompanies the assimilation is compensated by the lengthening of the succeeding vowel (*-ωντες* for *-οντες*); where however (as in *ἡβάω*) the *ᾱ* is assimilated without weakening of the quantity (i.e. becomes *ω*, not *ο*), the succeeding vowel retains its short quantity (*ἡβῶ-οντες*). See *H. G.* p. 37.

230—1. **νῆας** is object of *σῶσέμεν* but subject of *ἀπολέσθαι*.

232. αὐλιν ἔθεντο, “‘made their bivouac.’ Hence the later αὐλιζεσθαι, a regular military term” (Leaf *ad loc.*).

235. This line (which recurs in *Il.* 12. 107 and 126, and 17. 639) is ambiguous. As σχήσεσθαι means ‘to keep oneself back,’ ‘to refrain,’ whether from flight or from onset; so ἐμπεσέεσθαι means either ‘to throw oneself into’ a place of refuge (cf. 2. 175; 6. 81; 11. 311), or ‘to throw oneself upon,’ ‘fall upon,’ an enemy’s position.

Hence the words used in one sense of the victor will give the same general sense as the same words used in the other sense of the vanquished. Thus (1) ‘The Trojans say that we Greeks shall no longer refrain (from flight) but shall throw ourselves (for refuge) into our ships,’ is in general sense the same as (2) ‘The Trojans say that they themselves will no longer refrain (from onset) but will throw themselves upon our black ships.’ In the present passage it appears necessary that the subject of σχήσεσθαι should be that of the main verb (φασιν), no other being either expressed or easily supplied from the preceding lines, and the translation must be as (2) above. In *Il.* 12. 126 it is equally necessary to translate in the other way, as (1) above, a subject Ἀχαιοὺς being expressed.

236. ἐνδέξια. Translate literally ‘on the right.’ Omens on the right were *ipso facto* favourable. The only exception to this rule was made by the crow, which owing to some inherent perversity of nature reversed all the canons of augury.

241. στεῦται, properly ‘he is setting himself’; hence ‘he vows,’ ‘he threatens.’

ἄκρα κόρυμβα, the ornamental projection of the stern-post of an Homeric ship, called ἄφλαστον in *Il.* 15. 717, which would naturally be selected as the trophy from a captured ship.

242. μαλεροῦ πυρός. For the genitive see on l. 214 above.

245. ἐκτελέσωσι...ἔη. The optative is generally explained as expressing a remoter contingency than the subjunctive. Such explanation appears illogical here, for φθίσθαι etc. is in no way a *consequence* of the fulfilment of Hector’s threat, but is in itself the fulfilment—remoter neither in time nor in likelihood. Such straw-splitting of the moods in Homer cannot but appear unprofitable when it is remembered that Thucydides, writing in an age when idiom was far more precise than in the Homeric age, yet uses the subjunctive and the optative so combined in a single clause, that, if any difference in point of remoteness is to be found between the two contingencies, the nearer contingency is expressed by the optative, the remoter by the subjunctive. Thuc. vi.

96. 3 ἑξακοσίους λογάδας τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐξέκριναν...ὅπως τῶν τε Ἑπι-  
πολῶν εἶησαν φύλακες, καὶ ἦν ἐς ἄλλο τι δέη, ταχὺ ξυεστώτες παρα-  
γίγνωνται.

251. φράζεν. See above on l. 54.

255—6. μεγαλήτορα. See above on l. 109. ἴσχειν, 'restrain,'  
imperative usage of the infinitive.

260. πάνεο. MSS. here indicate the old uncontracted form in -εο.  
(See above on l. 54.) Many of the contractions which appear in the  
ordinary text are probably of post-Homeric growth, mere accidents  
of tradition. For genitives in -εο contracted to -ου and collateral errors,  
see above on l. 64. So again the MSS. frequently give ἧῶ (accus. of ἧῶς)  
where ἧδα should be restored.

262. εἰ δὲ...ἄκουσον. See above on ll. 46—7.

264—299. A repetition of ll. 122—157, with only such small  
alterations as a change from the third to the second person necessitates  
or facilitates.

300. κηρόθι μάλλον. The phrase recurs frequently in Homer with  
verbs expressing hate, love and anger. μάλλον='more and more.' It  
should not be translated as=μάλλον ἢ ὥστε μεταλλῆσαι, for the reason  
that it is part of a set and recurrent phrase in which the comparative  
sense is elsewhere weak.

301. δέ, *in apodosi*, cf. l. 167.

Παναχαιοὺς. See below on 10. 1.

303. μάλα μέγα. A short vowel with the ictus on it is frequently  
lengthened in Homer before a liquid (λ, μ, ν, ρ). Cf. l. 192 ὁπότε  
λήξειεν, l. 255 σὺ δὲ μεγαλήτορα θυμόν, etc. See *Introd.* p. xxviii.

309. ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν. The force of ἀπό in these two com-  
pounds is different. In the former it negatives the meaning of ἀλέγω  
(‘care for’), =‘without regard of consequences,’ or ‘without respect of  
persons’ (Leaf). In the latter ἀπό is intensive, and ἀποειπεῖν=‘to  
speak out.’ This is better than to adopt the other possible meaning of  
ἀποειπεῖν, ‘refuse,’ ‘reject’ and to make τὸν μῦθον refer back to the  
proposals made by Odysseus. Such a translation would make τὸν  
nothing more than the article, whereas, if ἀποειπεῖν mean ‘to speak  
out,’ τὸν possesses its due Homeric emphasis and is, in effect, the  
antecedent of ἧ περ δὴ φρονέω. The whole phrase then=‘to speak out  
boldly such (τὸν) an answer as (ἧ) my heart bids me.’

315—16. ἐμέ is object of πεισέμεν, Ἀγαμέμνονα and Δαναοὺς are  
subjects.

316. οὐκ ἄρα...ἦεν. The imperfect with ἄρα expresses the recogni-

tion of a fact previously misunderstood or misjudged. The colloquial equivalent in English is, 'There is not after all...'

320. This line has been generally suspected as an interpolation. It has no real connexion with those which precede. Achilles is not complaining of the law that warrior and coward are equally liable to death (a law not of Agamemnon's making), but of the fact that no distinction was made by Agamemnon between warrior and coward during lifetime.

321. *περίκειται*, *περί* compounded here bears the same sense as above uncompounded in ll. 53 and 100, 'more than others.'

323—4. *προφέρησι*, *λάβησι*. "The Subjunctive of the Thematic Aor. and Pres. frequently retains the original Person-Endings -*μι* and -*σι*: e.g. *ἐθέλωμι*, *ἐθέλησι*: *εἶπωμι*, *εἶπησι*" (*H. G.* p. 51).

327. *δάρων*. Feminine, as shown by *σφετεοάων*, and therefore from *δαρ* (a wife), not *δαρος*. The plural is used in invidious exaggeration, the reference being to Helen only.

329. *πέζος* means 'on land' or 'on foot' according as it is required as an antithesis to *σὺν νηυσί* etc. (as here) or to *ἱππεύς* etc. (as *Il.* 2. 810).

331. *ἐξελόμην*. The word is generally used of choosing a prize for oneself out of the spoils, as above in l. 130. Here it must mean simply 'I carried off,' 'I took away.' Cf. l. 377 *ἐξείλετο*.

331—3. *δόσκον...δασάσκετο...ἔχεσκεν*. The suffix -*σκε* or -*σκο* is used by Homer to form past tenses with iterative meaning. It may be joined with the stem of either present (as *ἔχε-σκε*) or aorist (as *δδ-σκον*, *δασά-σκετο*), and without distinction of meaning. The iterative force of the suffix prevails over the force of the tense-stem to which it is added, so that e.g. *δόσκον* though formed from an aorist stem differs not at all in force from *δίδου* (l. 334), an imperfect used in its iterative sense.

342. *ἦν αὐτοῦ*. The reading of the MSS. and most editions is *τὴν αὐτοῦ*. Monro (*H. G.* p. 171) rejects the use of the article in this passage, and prefers the reading here adopted. For the combination of *αὐτοῦ* with the possessive pronoun cf. *Il.* 10. 204 *ἐφ' αὐτοῦ θυμῷ*.

349. The description of the making of the fortifications, including the words *ἐπ' αὐτῷ* (Aristarchus' reading in the present passage was *ἐκτοθι τάφρον*) occurs in *Il.* 7. 434 ff.

353. *ἀπὸ τείχεος*, 'away from the wall.'

354. *φηγόν*, a species of oak-tree bearing an edible acorn, not to be confused with the Latin *fagus*, a beech-tree. The particular tree here mentioned was a prominent feature of the landscape and stood just



outside the walls of Troy near to the Scaean gates, along with which it is mentioned several times. Cf. *II.* 6. 237.

355. οἶον. 'In single combat.' A compressed expression which appears to stand for οἶος οἶον.

357—359. ῥέξας...νηήσας...ἐπὴν ἄλαδε προερεύσσω, ὄψεται.... The two participles agree with the subject of προερεύσσω, and are consequently to be regarded as contained within the relative clause and expressing actions anterior to that denoted by προερεύσσω. The subject of this clause is not continued as the subject of the main verb (ὄψεται). If we were to regard the participles as necessarily outside the relative clause in construction, we should be forced to consider ῥέξας and νηήσας as instances of the *nominativus pendens*, and the whole sentence, as Leaf says, "a complete anacoluthon." There is, however, no necessity to pronounce the construction faulty.

360. Ἑλλήσποντον. The Hellespont in ordinary Greek usage denoted the straits at the entrance from the Aegean Sea to the Propontis (Sea of Marmora),—the straits now known as the Dardanelles. In sailing from Troy to any part of Greece there could be no question of passing through the straits, for the point of departure is outside them. The name Hellespont must therefore be here understood to include that part of the Aegean Sea from which the Dardanelles are entered.

363. The distance of the voyage would be two hundred English miles, or somewhat less.

364. ἐνθάδε, 'hither,' with ἔρρω. The word ἔρρω has a further meaning than that of merely 'coming' or 'going': it implies some hurt or loss involved in so doing. Translate, 'when to mine undoing I came hither.' Hence ἔρρειν is frequent in maledictions, cf. l. 377.

369. ἀγορεύμεν. Infinitive in imperative sense.

372. ἐπιειμένος. Perfect participle in middle sense from ἐπιέννυμι.

374. An instance of *zeugma*: συμφράσσομαι is suitable in sense to the first accusative (βουλὰς) only, and ἔργον, though grammatically governed by it, requires in thought some verb expressing concert *in action*, e.g. συνεργάσσομαι, συνέρξω, συμπρήξω.

375. ἤλιπεν, as well as ἐξαπάτησε, is transitive.

377. ἐξέλετο. See above on l. 331.

378. ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ. The word καρὸς has been variously explained. Some of the ancients made it genitive of Κάρ (a Carian), but the quantity of the *ā* is fatal to this view, and the proverbial contempt for Carians was the outcome of a later age. Others held the word to be the Doric genitive of κῆρ (death), and made the whole phrase mean 'I esteem him



(i.e. I hate him) as death,'—a meaning supported by such phrases as ἴσον ἀπήχθετο κηρὶ μελαίνῃ (*Il.* 3. 454). To this view the quantity of the *ā* is equally fatal, and only some change of the text, such as τῶ δέ ἐ καρὸς ἐν αἰσῇ, could remedy the defect. More probably κᾶρός is connected with κέρω and means a 'clipping' of hair: it will thus be related to the phrase ἐν ἀκαρεῖ (χρόνου) and such like. (See *L.* and *S.* *sub voc.* ἀκαρής.)

381. Orchomenus, the city of the Minyae, in Boeotia, was in early ages among the most famous cities of Greece. It shares with Mycenae the Homeric epithet 'rich in gold.' The remains of its fortifications and the large 'beehive' tomb, miscalled the 'Treasury of Minyas,' attest to the present day its ancient grandeur.

The mention of Thebes, the only reference to Egypt in the *Iliad*, has been used as an argument as to the date of this book. "The passage seems to allude to the height of Theban glory under the two first kings of the 22nd dynasty, about 930—900 B.C. If so, we have a *terminus a quo* for this book" (Leaf). Such an inference is obviously hazardous. Thebes, if not at the height of her glory, may well have been famous enough to obtain mention before 930 B.C.; for Greek intercourse with Egypt is proved for two or three centuries before that time. (See Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. I. pp. 76—7.)

382. Αἰγυπτίας. The two syllables *-l-as* coalesce by *synizesis* into one for metrical purposes.

383. ἀν' ἐκάστας, sc. πύλας, supplied in thought from the adjective ἐκατόμυλοι. For the plural πύλας referring to each single gateway see below on σανίδας, l. 583.

386. πείσειε. For elision of final *ε* see above on l. 62.

387. ἀποδόμεναι λῶβην. The phrase means that Achilles will require the humiliation of Agamemnon in satisfaction of his own humiliation; no gifts shall buy off his vengeance in kind.

390. γλαυκῶπιδι. This constant epithet of Athena is a word of doubtful interpretation. It is not improbable that originally, when the human conception and portraiture of divine beings was yet rude, the goddess, who afterwards as Athena became the supreme type of wisdom, was represented with the head of an owl. In that case γλαυκῶπις meant first of all 'owl-faced.' But subsequently in the age better known to us the Greek divinities had assumed, almost without exception, anthropomorphic natures. Athena had a human head, and the owl, not to be altogether expelled, was made her associate and her symbol. The epithet γλαυκῶπις, therefore, which was hereditarily hers, now lost all meaning; for why call a goddess of human visage

'owl-faced'? A new sense gradually became assigned to it, and possibly to Homer himself, certainly to later ages, it bore the meaning 'grey-eyed.'

393. **σώωσι.** The proper forms of the verb (or verbs) meaning 'to keep safe' have been much disputed. In l. 424 there is a choice between **σώω** and **σώη**, and again in l. 681 between **σώψς**, **σοῶς**, **σαῶς**, and **σόης**. No certainty in the matter can be found. When due allowance is made for assimilation of vowels and interchange of quantity (see above on l. 229), it becomes impossible wholly to reject the claims of any extant form. Even **σώω** and **σώψς** deserve respect, as possible optative forms by interchange of quantity from **σώοι** (**σαόοι**) and **σώοις** (**σαόοις**) (see *H.G.* p. 52). The readings given are those in which most MSS. concur.

394. **γαμέσσεται**, 'will find me a wife.' The middle voice of **γαμέω** is ordinarily used of the woman marrying, = Latin *nubere*. The meaning which it is necessary to give to the word in this passage is unique, but the reading of Aristarchus **γυναικά γε μάσσεται** ('will seek out') is no better, involving as it does an equally unparalleled use of **μάομαι**.

395. **Ἑλλάδα.** *Hellas* meant to Homer a district of Thessaly: the name was not yet extended to Greece as a whole.

404—5. The temple of Apollo at Delphi enjoyed a great reputation for wealth, the result of offerings brought by enquirers of the oracle. The sacred enclosure surrounding the temple was, at any rate in later times, the site of the Treasuries of several of the Greek states.

406—7. **ληιστοί...κτητοί.** See above on l. 126.

408. **ἔλθειν.** A loose use of the epexegetic infinitive expressing consequence.

409. **ἀμείψεται.** Aorist subjunctive. See above on l. 46.

413. **ᾤλετο**, 'is gone.' The use of the aorist denotes the finality of the issue when once Achilles' choice is made, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 386, **ἀπωλόμην ἄρ', εἰ με δὴ λείψεις, γύναι.**

418. **δῆτε.** This form is held by Monro (*H. G.* p. 50) to be an aorist subjunctive (of non-thematic formation), uniformly used as a simple future. See *Introd.* p. xxv.

419. **ἔθεν.** The ending **-θεν** properly expresses the point *from which motion* takes place; e.g. **πόθεν, οὐρανόθεν.** But the Pronominal forms **ἐμέθεν, σέθεν, ἔθεν** transgress the limitations observed in other words ending in **-θεν**, and are used as alternatives for the true genitive forms, for which see above on l. 60. Cf. *H. G.* pp. 67 and 112—113.

424. **σόη.** See above on l. 393.

431. **ἀπέειπεν.** Translate 'he spake out,' as in l. 309, on which see note.

433. **ἀναπρήσας.** The original sense of *πρήθω* is 'to blow up,' cf. *Od.* 2. 427, *ἐπρησεν δ' ἄνεμος μέσον ιστίον*. Applied to fire, the word was naturally used of fanning embers into flame, and hence came the old interpretation of the phrase before us, 'letting *hot* tears well up.' There is however no need to give to *ἀναπρήθω* here the special sense which it acquires in relation to fire. We may refer the word in this phrase to its original meaning, and translate simply 'with tears welling up.'

438. **σοὶ δέ μ' ἔπεμπε.** 'Made me thine escort.'

440. **ὁμοίῳ πολέμοιο.** The reading of the MSS. and most editions is *ὁμοίου πολέμοιο*, in which the short *ι* in *ὁμοι-ῖ-ον* has to do duty for a long syllable. This metrical defect is remedied by writing, instead of *-ου*, the old genitive form in *-οο* (see above on l. 64), and, instead of *πολέμοιο*, the Aeolic or Achæan form of that word *πτολέμοιο*. See *Monro, H. G. p. 60*.

448. Amyntor, son of Ormenos, is mentioned again in *Il.* 10. 266, and his seat is there Eleon. The only town named Eleon known to us was in Boeotia. There is therefore an apparent discrepancy between the two passages, which can best be reconciled by supposing another Eleon situate in that district of Thessaly which Homer calls Hellas.

449. **περιχώσατο**, 'was exceeding wroth'; *παλλακίδος* is genitive of cause, independent of the *περι-* (=exceedingly) in the compound verb.

450. **φιλέσκειν..., ἀτιμάζεσκε..., λισσέσκετο.** For these frequentative forms see above on l. 331.

453. **οἰσθείς.** This passive form of the aorist of *οἶμαι* is rare; more common is the middle form *οἰσάμην* etc.

455. **μή ποτε γούνασιν οἶσιν.** 'That I might never set upon my knees a dear son sprung of my own body.' It is necessary to the sense of the passage to understand *ἐμέ* as subject of *ἐφέσσεσθαι*. If Amyntor meant merely to refuse to recognize his son's prospective family, that refusal might perhaps be called a curse upon his son, but would certainly not require any invocation of the Erinyes. Moreover the phrase *γούνασιν οἶσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι* was so intimately associated with the action of a father acknowledging a new-born child as his own (cf. Lat. *suscipio*), as to counteract the grammatical ambiguity by which either the grandfather or the father might be the subject of *ἐφέσσεσθαι*. Phoenix

certainly understood his father's words, as is shown by ll. 492—5, not as a mere refusal to recognize his possible grandchildren, but as an imprecation of childlessness.

For *οἷσιν* as possessive pronoun referring to the first person cf. *Od.* 9. 28, 13. 320, and see note below on *Il.* 10. 398.

458—461. These four lines occur in no MS. now extant, but are preserved by Plutarch (*de Aud. Poet.* 8), who tells us that Aristarchus cut them out, shocked at Phoenix confessing even to an intention of parricide. It is however characteristic of the Homeric warrior to speak both good and evil of himself without either false or genuine shame; and further a reminder to Achilles of the terrible results to which anger may lead is not inapposite.

465. *αὐτοῦ*, the adverb, to be taken with *κατερήτυον*, = 'sought to keep me there.'

468. *εὐόμενοι τανύοντο*, 'were stretched and singed.' *εὐόμενοι* being present participle denotes an action contemporaneous with that of the main verb *τανύοντο*.

472—3. The *αὐλή* of an Homeric house was the unroofed forecourt. Along the front side ran a portico (here called *αἶθουσα αὐλῆς*). On entering therefore at the front door, a man found himself at once beneath this portico. From thence, to gain access to the house proper, he would walk straight from under the front portico across the open fore-court to a second portico opposite and parallel to the first; behind this portico lay the vestibule (*πρόδομος*), which was itself the antechamber of the *μέγαρον* or Large Hall for the men. Sleeping apartments (*θάλαμοι*) probably opened off either end of the inner or second portico, and likewise to left and right (or at any rate to either left or right) of the antechamber.

476. The fixity of Homeric epithets is well seen on comparing lines 472 and 476. In the former the court-yard is called *εὐερκής*; in the latter Phoenix leaps easily over the selfsame *ἐρκίον αὐλῆς* which has just been commended.

482. *τηλύγετον*. See above on l. 143.

483. *ὥπασε λαόν*. The position of Phoenix in relation to Peleus is suggestive of an almost feudal condition of society. He holds sovereignty under Peleus and by his gift, and owes him a certain allegiance and service of the same nature as Peleus himself owes to Agamemnon. Cf. ll. 438—9, and see above on l. 69.

486—8. *ἄμ' ἄλλω...πρίν γ' ὅτε δή*. There is some inaccuracy of expression in this sentence. Since *ἄμ' ἄλλω* belongs by position to both

the clauses οὐτ'...λέναι and οὐτε...πάσασθαι, it is natural to expect merely ἢ ἐμοί ('with no other than me') to complete the sentence. The words ἄμ' ἄλλω are however treated as though they belonged to the first οὐτε clause only, and πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ introduces a qualification of the second οὐτε clause. The thought, thus faultily expressed, is in reality 'Thou wouldst not go to the banquet with other than me, nor wouldst thou taste food, save when (lit. until) I cut thee the first morsel etc.'

491. οἴνου. Partitive genitive.

493. τά, antecedent of the clause introduced by ὅ (= ὅτι).

ἐξετέλειον. The imperfect expresses intention, cf. l. 495, ποιεύμην.

495. ποιεύμην. 'I hoped (or tried) to make thee a son to me.' In Later Greek ποιεῖσθαι is sometimes used absolutely, meaning 'to adopt.'

496. θυμὸν μέγαν, 'proud spirit,' = μεγαλήτορα θυμὸν above l. 255 (q. v.).

499. καὶ μέν. 'And yet,' = καὶ μὴν or καίτοι of Attic.

503. "The epithets are transferred from the attitude of the penitent to his prayers. χωλαί, because of his reluctance to go to ask pardon: ῥυσαί, from his face wrinkled with the mental struggle: παραβλῶπες ὀφθαλμῷ, because he dares not look in the face him whom he has wronged." (Leaf.)

504. ἀλέγουσι may be construed either with the gen. ἄτης ('pay heed to Sin, following after her'), or, better, with the participle κιοῦσαι ('make it their business to go')—the latter being a construction familiar with such verbs as διατελῶ, φθάνω (cf. II. 506—7), and λανθάνω.

508—12. The allegory is concerned not with prayers to the gods for pardon of sin, but with those of one man to another for forgiveness for some injury committed (as by Agamemnon against Achilles). The lines may be paraphrased thus: 'Whoso respects the prayers for forgiveness addressed to him, he is blessed for it and his prayers are heard when he too in turn craves forgiveness: but whoso rejects such prayers and refuses forgiveness, upon him is Até (infatuation to sin) sent, he is misled (βλαφθεῖς) by her, commits some injury against a neighbour, and pays for (ἀποτίσῃ) his previous refusal to forgive, by failing now to obtain the forgiveness which he seeks.'

518. ἔμπης. This adverb, like ὅμως in Attic, is by a curious idiom of Greek frequently displaced from the clause to which it in sense belongs, and joined closely with the concessive clause, thereby increasing the emphasis of the opposition between the two clauses. Translate,



'Be their need never so great.' The same idiom is to be observed with *εὐθὺς*, and *ἄμα*.

522. *ἐλέγξης*. This is a purely Homeric use of *ἐλέγχειν*, = 'treat with contempt,' 'dishonour.'

523. *κεχολῶσθαι*. With full perfect force, = 'to have been wroth.'

524. *κλέα*. For form of word see above on l. 189.

525. *ὅτε κεν...ἔκοι*. This clause happens to be a solitary instance in Homer of *ὅτε κεν* with the optative. Similar combinations, however, such as *εἴ κεν* and optative, are not rare, cf. above l. 141, *εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαιῶν...* The usage is therefore justified by analogy.

529—599. These lines are devoted to the story of Meleager which is told in a very confused way. A simple outline of the legend is as follows: Oeneus, king of the Aetolians, whose chief city was Calydon, had taken to wife Althaea daughter of Thestios king of the Curetes, and they had a son Meleager. Now it so happened that Oeneus offended Artemis by not doing sacrifice to her, and in revenge she sent a monstrous wild boar of peculiar ferocity to ravage his lands. A hunt was thereupon organised by Meleager, in which his mother's brothers (the sons of Thestios) took part. The boar was eventually slain by Meleager; but the division of the spoils gave rise to a quarrel between him and his uncles. Meleager chivalrously assigned the hide of the monster to Atalanta, the only lady who had taken part in the hunt: but the sons of Thestios took the trophy from her, and Meleager in his anger slew them. The quarrel of the hunting-field then assumed international proportions, and the Curetes, to avenge the death of the sons of their king Thestios, beleaguered Calydon, the city where reigned Oeneus father of Meleager. At the same time domestic troubles beset the house of Oeneus; for his wife Althaea laid a curse upon Meleager, her son, for having slain her brothers: whereupon Meleager, indignant, refused to take any more part in defending the city. Thenceforth the fortunes of war were against the Aetolians. Meleager was besought by his father, his mother and sisters, and all his friends, and was tempted with offers of land by the counsellors of the town, to lay aside his wrath and fight: but to no purpose. It was not until his wife represented to him the horrors of her fate if the city were taken that he relented and fought and saved the city. But the offer of land had already been withdrawn.

Homer does not mention Atalanta nor any cause for the slaying of the sons of Thestios: this defect is supplemented in the above outline



from the ordinary legend of later times. The somewhat involved narration of these events by Phoenix falls into the following divisions:

ll. 529—532. Aetolians and Curetes discovered fighting.

533—549. A summary of the untoward events which had led up to the fighting, but containing no specific statement of the *casus belli*.

550—556. Aetolians successful so long as Meleager was fighting: soon however he became angry, and stayed at home. Reason for his action not yet assigned.

557—564. Digression relating to the family history of Meleager's wife.

565—572. Explanation of Meleager's reasons for staying at home.

573—599. Aetolians hard pressed. Attempts made to reconcile Meleager. His final relenting.

A discrepancy may have been observed in the outline of the legend given above. If the death of Thestios' sons at the hand of Meleager was the cause of the war, and the Aetolians at first, while Meleager was fighting (ll. 550—2), achieved such success as to confine the Curetes within the walls of Thestios' city, how can we account for the time necessary to these events elapsing before Althaea pronounces her curse? In the natural course of events, a curse would be spoken in less time than war even declared—and yet here the war has been actually going on some time. It may be conjectured that the Homeric version of the legend, if it had been narrated in greater completeness, would have represented war breaking out as a result of a quarrel over the spoils of the hunt (a quarrel in which no Atalanta appeared), and would have made a son or sons of Thestios fall by the hand of Meleager in the first stage of the war. Thereupon Althaea's curse, Meleager's anger and retirement, and the second stage of the war.

531. ἀμυνόμενοι Καλυδῶνος. The person or place from which danger is ward off may be put either in the dative (as above in l. 495), or in the genitive (as *Il.* 15. 731, Τρῶας ἀμυνε νεῶν) after the active ἀμύνω. The middle ἀμύνομαι expresses, in virtue of Voice, *self*-defence, and therefore in the majority of cases requires no further designation of the object defended. But in a few cases, a genitive is found added, indicating the particular point of the defender's own person or property from which danger is to be ward off. Thus *Il.* 12. 155—6, ἀμυνόμενοι σφῶν τ' αὐτῶν καὶ κλισιάων νηῶν τ' ὠκυπόρων = 'repelling (the danger) from themselves and from *their* tents and from *their* swift voyaging ships.'

Similarly translate here, 'Repelling the foe from *their* fair city, Calydon,' or 'in defence of *their* fair Calydon.'

534. **θαλύσια**, firstfruits of the harvest.

**γουνός** is probably from the root **γον-** (fertility) and thus denotes, in connection with **ἀλωή**, a sown plot of ground, i.e. corn-fields etc.

535. **ῥέξε**. **ῥέξειν**, lit. 'to do,' is used technically of doing sacrifice; cf. Lat. *operari, facere*.

537. **οὐκ ἐνόησεν**. 'He disregarded,' cf. **οὐκ ἔφη** = he denied.

**ἀάσατο**. The scansion of the first two syllables of this word in Homer is purely a matter of metrical convenience. Thus **ἀάσατο** (here), **ᾗσάμην** (above, l. 116).

538. **δῖον γένος**. It has been disputed whether this expression applies to the goddess or to the wild boar. It is best referred to the latter, as being a monstrous and supernatural specimen of its kind. A similar expression is used of the supernatural horse Arion (*Il.* 23. 346—7)—'Ἀρείονα δῖον, Ἀδρήστου ταχὺν ἵππον, ὃς ἐκ θεόφιν γένος ἦεν— and of the Chimaera (*Il.* 6. 180)—ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἔην θεῖον γένος.

539. **χλούνην**. The derivation and the meaning of this word are alike indeterminate. According to Apollonius, it is contracted from **χλο-εύνης** = 'having its lair in the grass,' not a formidable trait in an animal's character. Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* 6. 28) appears to interpret it as = **τομίας** (gelded) and, as a result, 'fierce.' Scarlatos Byzantios (*Mod. Gk. Lexicon*) identifies it with *Mod. Gk.* **χλωμός** = 'yellow,' 'tawny.'

540. **ἔθων**, participle of **ἔθω** (I am wont), to be taken closely with **ἔρδεσκεν**.

547. **ἡ δ'**. Artemis.

556. **κεῖτο**, 'stayed at home.'

557. The family history of Meleager's wife, Cleopatra, which here interrupts the narrative is as follows: Marpessa, the daughter of Euenos, was carried off from her father's house by Idas; Apollo however attempted to carry her off in turn from Idas; and in defence of his bride (**καλλισφύρου εἵνεκα νύμφης**) Idas drew his bow against Apollo. But Zeus intervened and stopped the fight, by allowing Marpessa to choose between her rival suitors. She chose Idas, and in commemoration of the halcyon-like cries of Marpessa when Apollo tried to carry her off, she and Idas gave to their daughter Cleopatra the further name Alcyone.

560. **νύμφης**, sc. Marpessa.

561. **τήν** sc. Cleopatra.

565. **τῇ ὃ γει**, sc. **Κλεοπάτρῃ Μελέαγρος** (repeating l. 556).

**πέσσων**. Translate, 'nursing.'

567. ἤρᾱτο. Translate, 'prayed,' not 'cursed.' The substance of the prayer is παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον (l. 571).

κασίγνήτοιο is sometimes taken as an adjective agreeing with φόνιοι (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 899, κασίγνητον κάρα). This interpretation reconciles the phrase with the later legend, according to which Althaea had more than one brother slain by Meleager. But the Homeric story may have differed in this as in other points.

568—9. Hades and Persephone were powers beneath the earth (ὑποχθόνιοι): the action of beating (*lit.* threshing) the earth was therefore a logical way of calling their attention.

573. τῶν, sc. the Aetolians.

574. τόν, sc. Meleager.

578. τέμενος. Land in general was public property, and was distributed for cultivation into small holdings of which the cultivator had temporary occupation, but not permanent ownership. A separate portion (τέμενος, from root of τέμνω, I cut, cf. ταμέσθαι l. 580) was owned by the king alone, and was therefore offered to Meleager as a special and almost royal distinction. For system of land tenure see below on 10. 351.

583. σανίδας. The plural is regularly used by Homer because folding-doors were in general use. Meleager is represented as having shut himself up in his bedroom. κολλητός is a general epithet of any article which required accurate fitting in the manufacture, a door, a chariot etc. It should not be translated 'fixed,' as with bars or bolts.

588. ἐβάλλετο, began to be struck by the enemy's missiles.

593. ἀμαθύνει, verb formed from ἄμαθος (= ψάμαθος), 'sand,' 'dust,' = 'reduce to ashes.'

598. εἶξας ᾧ θυμῷ, 'having yielded to his own impulse,'—the good impulse which his wife's words stirred up in him. There would be little difficulty in the words, were it not for the reminiscence which they evoke of l. 109 above, σὺ δὲ σῶ μεγαλήτορι θυμῷ εἶξας ἄνδρα φέριστον... ἡτίμησας. But even there θυμός does not of itself denote any bad feeling, but derives it entirely from the adjective μεγαλήτορι, 'proud,' 'overbearing.'

599. αὐτως, adverb from the pronoun αὐτός, with accent thrown back as commonly in the Aeolian (Achaean) dialect. Translate simply 'even so'; there is no necessity in any case to suppose, with the Grammarians, a meaning 'in vain,' 'to no purpose.'

605. τιμῆς, a contracted form of the adjective τιμήεις, cf. *Od.* 18. 475, χρυσὸν τιμῆντα (= τιμήεντα). This is better than to read τιμῆς

(gen. of τιμή) as dependent on ὁμῶς, for the idiom of Greek would then demand ἔξεις as the verb rather than ἔσσαι.

607. **ἄττα**, a child's word for 'father,' used as a title of respect or endearment to old men.

609. **ἦ μ' ἔξει**, the antecedent is ταύτης τιμῆς. Translate, 'I need not such honour (for honour, methinks, I have already won by the ordinance of Zeus), as shall keep me here beside the ships' all my life long.

614. **ἀπέχθαι**. ἀπεχθάνομαι here, as in most passages, means not merely to be hated, but to cause oneself to be hated, make oneself objectionable, incur hatred by some act: in other words it is a true middle, not a passive verb.

616. **μείρο**, the only extant form from the present tense of μείρομαι. But forms ἔμμορε (aorist) and εἵμαρται etc. (perf. pass.) are referable to the same verb.

619. **νεώμεθα...μένωμεν**. The subjunctives are deliberative, the same as would be used in the corresponding direct question.

620. **ἐπί**, not governing ὀφρύνει, but with νεῦσε (tmesis).

622. **μεδοίατο**, sc. the two envoys, Odysseus and Ajax. For the termination -ατο (=ντο) see note on 10. 189.

625. **τελευτή**, the accomplishment or issue of our charge. The usage of the word approaches that of the English 'end' as equivalent to 'purpose.'

628. **ποτιδέμενοι**. A remarkable form, occurring too often to be emended, against the authority of the MSS., to ποτιδέχμενος (syncop. pres.). It must therefore be regarded as a perfect form, lacking reduplication, irregularly accented, and used with present signification.

630. **μετατρέπεται**. This verb, like the more frequent ἐντρέπομαι and ἐπιστρέφομαι, is construed with a genitive denoting the cause for which one turns oneself. Hence the general sense 'to regard,' 'to pay heed to,' etc.

632. In the Homeric stage of society, the idea of accepting other satisfaction for homicide than the blood of the slayer had already begun to take root. The conception of any felony as a crime against society as a whole and calling for punishment at the hands of the community, was as yet unknown. It rested therefore with the injured family in each case to determine what satisfaction for homicide should be accepted. The inconvenience of exacting a life as retribution for a life, leading naturally to a blood-feud between two families, had already in the Homeric age suggested the idea of accepting an indemnity for the

injury done to the family of the slain man. Even this primitive plan has not yet been accepted throughout modern Greece: in the peninsula of Maina few men would be so pusillanimous as to accept an indemnity (much less to have recourse to the law of the land), in satisfaction for the violent death of a member of the family, and the blood-feud continues from generation to generation.

634. ὁ μὲν, sc. the homicide.

635. τοῦ δέ, sc. the father or the brother of the murdered man.

636. δεξαμένῳ has better MS. authority than δεξαμένον. An exact parallel for this ungrammatical variation of case may be found below, 10. 187.

640. αἰδεσσαι δὲ μέλαθρον, i.e. do not refuse our request in your own house. Ajax appeals to Achilles' sense of hospitality, always the strongest moral constraint in Greece.

647. ἀσύφηλον. The exact meaning of this word cannot be determined; but 'dishonouring' (which is taken to be the meaning in Quint. Smyrn. 9. 521) will suit both the Homeric passages (here and in *Il.* 24. 767). ἀσύφηλον cannot be in agreement with με as part of the predicate ('made me dishonoured'); ἔρεξε is not so used, but rather some such word as ἔθηκε. The phrase is undoubtedly of the same construction as the common phrase κακὸν ῥέζειν τινά, 'to do a man a mischief'; ἀσύφηλον ἔρεξέ με therefore means 'he did me dishonour.'

648. ἀτίμητον μετανάστην. This phrase is quoted by Aristotle (*Pol.* III. 5. 9) in a passage where he is using τιμαί in the technical sense of 'civic privileges.' "But in Homer the meaning of ἀτίμητον is probably 'without any τιμή or blood-price attached to his life,' i.e. one who may be killed with impunity, rather than one without τιμαί in the sense of civic privileges." (Jackson, quoted by Susemihl and Hicks, *ad loc. cit.*)

661. ἄωτον. The derivation of this word is uncertain, but it has been supposed to be from the root of ἀημι (to blow), = 'that which is blown about,' i.e. 'flock,' 'down' or 'knap.' Since the chief excellence in cloth and woollen goods is soft smooth surface, the word is thought to have been transferred thence by metaphor to anything choice and excellent of its kind. It is a favourite word with Pindar.

662. κατέλεκτο. This form is generally called a syncopated second aorist, by which name it is implied that the full form should be κατελέκετο. It is however more accurate to regard it as one of a regular Homeric class of non-thematic second aorists middle. Their peculiarity is that they



are non-thematic in spite of the fact that the stem ends in a consonant, e.g. ἀλ-το (he leapt), ὤρ-το (he started up), δέκ-το (he received),—and are thus identical in formation with the second aorist middle of verbs whose aorist-stem ends in a vowel, as ἐ-φθι-το (he perished), ἐ-πτα-το (he flew).

671. δειδέχατο. See above on ll. 196 and 224. Each man rose from the place where he had been sitting and stood to welcome the envoys.

675. ἀπέειπε, 'refused.'

680. αὐτόν. Note the emphatic position at the beginning of the sentence; translate, 'by thyself' or 'for thyself,' i.e. unaided by Achilles.

681. σόης. See note above on l. 393.

683. ἀμφιέλισσας, usually taken to mean 'propelled by oars on both sides'; but the sense of 'rolling from side to side' is perhaps as probable, and certainly as picturesque.

684—687. A repetition of 417—20, *mutatis mutandis*.

688. εἰπέμεν. "That the Greek infinitive was originally the dative of an abstract noun, is proved by comparison with Sanskrit." (*H. G. p.* 163.) The usage of it in the present passage is reminiscent of that origin; the line might be rendered, 'and they that went with me are here *for telling* this.'

690. αὐθι, 'there,' 'yonder,' i.e. in Achilles' tent.

694. This line has little relevance after the mere delivery of a message, and has been generally regarded as an interpolation from l. 314 (q. v.). By the omission of it, ll. 693, 695 and 696 = ll. 29—31.

698. μὴ ὄφελος λίσσεσθαι. A wish is commonly expressed in Homer by μὴ ὄφελον and an infinitive: in such phrases μὴ logically belongs to the infinitive, but is regularly displaced for greater emphasis.

699. καὶ ἄλλως. 'He is haughty enough *in any case*.'

701—2. ἢ κεν ἔρσιν ἢ κε μένη. The alternative clauses are not properly subordinate to ἐάσομεν, but paratactic and coordinate. Translate, 'let us leave him alone, let him go or stay as he will.'—ἐάσομεν is probably aorist subjunctive, not future indicative.

705. τεταρπόμενοι, reduplicated second aorist middle of τέρπω, with the sense of 'satisfying or filling oneself.' Hence the genitive of material (see above on ll. 137 and 214) which naturally follows verbs of filling.

708—9. ἐχέμεν...μάχεσθαι. Infinitives in imperative sense.

## BOOK X.

1. **Παναχαιῶν.** The names commonly applied to the Greek forces in the *Iliad* are Ἀχαιοί, Ἀργεῖοι and Δαναοί. Of these names, the first only is properly applicable to every contingent of the army; thus Achilles from Phthia in Thessaly, and Odysseus from Ithaca are Achaeans, but are not Argives nor Danaï. Ἀργεῖοι applies mainly to Agamemnon and his (the largest) contingent as coming from the land of Argos, but if we take 'Argos' in its largest sense as meaning the whole Peloponnese (see above on 9. 141), the term may include also Menelaus, Nestor and other chieftains. The name Δαναοί ought not, it would seem, to be used of any Achaeon people, much less of all: for Danaus, the eponymous progenitor, came of Pelasgian stock and dwelt in Argos before the Achaeon immigration. The use of the appellation would therefore seem to imply a complete fusion of the Achaeon and Pelasgian populations in Argos long before the time of Homer. The comparatively rare name Παναχαιοί merely emphasizes the appropriateness of the name Ἀχαιοί to *all* the Greek forces, in contrast with the local name Ἀργεῖοι and the tribal name Δαναοί.

7. **νιφετόν κ.τ.λ.** "It would seem that we must understand πολύν and ἀθέσφατον to apply also to νιφετόν, or else the picture of a snowstorm merely 'sprinkling' the fields appears a very insignificant phenomenon compared to those which precede and follow it" (Leaf). It may however be observed that snow which lies is an object of peculiar horror to the Greek of to-day. I have known the whole male population of a small town to keep their beds for a fortnight on end, resignedly awaiting a thaw. The mere 'sprinkling' of the fields, therefore, if we may judge by the feelings of the present inhabitants of the country, is no 'insignificant phenomenon.' Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* l. 1027 πρὸς ταῦτα, ῥιπτέσθω μὲν αἰθαλοῦσσα φλόξ, | λευκοπτέρῳ δὲ νιφάδι καὶ βροντήμασι | χθονίοις κυκάτω πάντα.

8. **πτολέμοιο στόμα,** 'the jaws of war.' The epithet πευκεδανοῖο (piercing) was possibly suggested by the use of στόμα, war being compared to a ravenous monster with piercing fangs.

9. The point of comparison in the elaborate simile is indicated by πυκινά.

10. **νειόθεν.** See above on 9. 153.

13. αὐλῶν συρίγγων. If two kinds of instruments are here indicated, there is, as most editors have observed, a somewhat harsh *asyndeton*; for the τε following συρίγγων can only serve once as connecting particle, viz. either between αὐλῶν and συρίγγων, or between the whole phrase αὐλῶν συρίγγων ἐνοπήν and πῦρά πολλὰ. But do αὐλῶν and συρίγγων need a connecting particle? Yes, if the two words denote two diverse kinds of instrument; no, if the two words together denote a single kind. I suggest then that αὐλῶν συρίγγων is an example of the Homeric use of two substantives in apposition, the one generic and the other specific, to denote a single object. For instances see above on 9. 208. Here I regard αὐλός as the generic term (= a wind-instrument) and σύριγξ as a specification of the (perhaps barbaric) kind of wind-instrument to which the Trojans were addicted. On this view of the passage, there is no *asyndeton*.

16. Διί. The notion of despondent prayer suggested by the previous line is answerable for the dative following, which may be regarded as a dative of the person indirectly affected.

18. ἔπι, with the sense more familiar in μετά, 'to fetch' or 'to find,' cf. the colloquial English use of 'after.'

21—24. Descriptions of dress, armour etc. in elaborate detail are characteristic of this book, cf. 29, 75, 131 etc., and Introduction, p. xxx.

26. μή τι πάθοιεν, continuing the sentence begun by ἔχε τρόμος, the phrase οὐδὲ γὰρ...ἐφίζανε being parenthetical. 'In like manner had fear hold on Menelaus,—for neither could he sleep,—even fear lest the Argives etc.' The phrase εἴ τι πάθοιμι is frequently used euphemistically in Greek to avoid explicit mention of death or disaster; so, in English, 'if anything were to happen to me,' cf. l. 338, below.

27. πολύν. Used in Homer for the feminine as well as for the masculine acc. sing., cf. *Il.* 5. 776, ἡέρα πολύν, for ἀήρ is regularly feminine in Homer.

30. στεφάνην. It is impossible to say in what, if in anything, the στεφάνη differed from other kinds of helmet (τρυφάλεια, κτιδὲν etc.). It used to be thought that the word meant properly the brim of a helmet, the part being used in such expressions as this for the whole; but there is as yet no archaeological warranty for that conjecture.

34. τιθήμενον, instead of τιθέμενον, is a form (according to Monro *H. G.* p. 16) "probably due to the analogy of the Non-Thematic Contracted verbs," e.g. πεινήμεναι (from πεινάω), 'to be hungry'; πενθήμεναι (from πενθέω), 'to mourn.' It must be confessed, however, that by the aid of this analogy, the difficulty is only carried back one

step; for it remains dubious how the Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs themselves gave rise to such forms.

46. ἄρα, the particle of inference. 'Verily he must have set his heart on Hector's offerings more than on ours: for never yet saw I nor heard tell of one man etc.'

50. αὐτως, 'just as he is,' 'in his own might,' 'unaided.'

54. θέων. Observe the accent, which shows the word to be the participle of θέω.

ἐπί, as above in l. 18.

56. ἱερὸν τέλος, 'the stalwart company' of sentinels. τέλος is employed now and again in all periods of Greek to denote a body of soldiers etc. ἱερός, apart from its ordinary meaning 'holy,' bears occasionally the sense of 'strong' or 'sound.' In *Il.* 17. 464 it is the epithet of δίφρος, a chariot; and in such phrases as ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο, ἱερὴ ἵς Τηλεμάχοιο, the same interpretation seems preferable. In Mod. Gk. this sense has become paramount, e.g. (γ)ιερὸ πιάτο = a 'sound plate' (i.e. not cracked nor chipped).

62. αὐθι...μετὰ τοῖσι. 'There...among the sentinels.'

65. ἀβροτάξομεν, aor. subj. from an otherwise unknown verb ἀβροτάζω, containing the same root as ἀμαρτάνω. The β has been generated by the juxtaposition of μ and ρ (as in ἀμβροτεῖν = ἀμαρτεῖν), and subsequently the original μ has fallen out before the imported β.

68—9. Each man is to be summoned by his own name, his patronymic (πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς), and some complimentary title (κυδαίνων). An example of such address occurs below (l. 87), ὦ Νέστορ (name), Νηληιάδῃ (patronymic), μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν (complimentary title). The words πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς are to be taken as a single phrase. The patronymic used was not necessarily formed from the name of the father, but sometimes from that of a remoter forefather. Thus Achilles is spoken of both as Πηληιάδης (after Peleus, his father), and as Αἰακίδης (after Aeacus, his grandfather).

71. ἐπί, with ἔει (tmesis). 'Such grievous hardship, I trow, did Zeus even at our birth determine to send upon us.' The imperfect denotes intention.

73. ὁ, 'he himself,' i.e. Agamemnon.

75—7. For Homeric armour see Introduction, p. xxx.

79. οὐ μὲν ἐπέτρεπε. An intransitive sense of ἐπιτρέπω, 'yield to,' is nowhere else found in Homer. In view of this fact, it is perhaps worth suggesting that the true reading should be οὐ μιν ἐπέτρεπε. The reflexive use of μιν is at least supported by one other Homeric passage,

Od. 4. 244, αὐτόν μιν πληγῆσιν ἀεικέλῃσι δαμάσσας (where μιν = εἰ, αὐτόν = ἑρσυν), and is countenanced by the general usage of Herodotus.

85. ἐπ' ἔμ' ἔρχεο. The preposition ἐπὶ implies some suspicion or fear of hostile intentions. 'Come not upon me (or against me) in silence.'

88. εἴσεται. 'Thou wilt know of,' 'thou wilt have heard of.' If this reading be correct, the words are spoken with half-humorous irony. There is a *var. lect.* γνώσεται, 'thou wilt recognise.'

περὶ πάντων, 'above all men,' 'more than all men.'

93. Δαναῶν περιδείδια affords a better rhythm than Δαναῶν πέρι δείδια. For the compound περιδείδω ('fear exceedingly') see above 9. 433, and for the causal genitive Δαναῶν see above on 9. 449 (παλλακίδος περιχώσατο).

94. ἀλαλύκτημαι, "ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, from \*ἀλυκτέω, standing to ἀλύνω in the same relation as ὑλακτέω to ὑλάω." (Leaf.)

96. δραίνεις, also ἅπαξ λεγ., apparently desiderative in sense (=δρασεῖω). 'If thou art for doing aught.'

98. The coupling of both κάματος and ἔπνος with the verb ἀδηκότες almost constitutes a zeugma. 'Sated with toil and satisfied with sleep.'

99. ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθωνται = πάγχυ ἐπιδάθωνται. There is no ground for supposing a phrase ἐπὶ πάγχυ in the same sense as πάγχυ alone: the passage cited by L. and S. from Hesiod (*Op.* 262), σκολιῶν δὲ δικῶν ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθεςθε, is an exact parallel to the passage before us, and ἐπὶ belongs to λάθεςθε.

101. μή πως...μεινιήσωσι. 'It may be they will set their mind to fighting even by night.' The various uses of μή are best reduced to order and consistency on the supposition that that particle was originally not a negative proper, but an indication of doubt. Vestiges of such a meaning are found (1) in such phrases of Attic Greek as μή ἀγροικότερόν τι ἢ εἰπεῖν ('perhaps it is rather a rude thing to say'), (2) in the later use of μήποτε (from Aristotle onwards) as = 'perhaps,' (3) in the modern use of μήπως to introduce questions, e.g. μήπως τὸν εἶδας; 'do you happen to have seen him?'

In the next stage of development, we may suppose, μή and the subjunctive, instead of expressing mere doubt, came to indicate some degree of apprehension and fear. Thus μή τοῦτο γένηται no longer meant merely 'perhaps this will happen,' but implied also some fear of, or some precaution or warning against, the possible occurrence. This second stage of development differs from the first in idiomatic usage only. An offshoot of it, the use of μή and the aorist subjunctive in



prohibition, has continued through all periods of Greek up to the present day. Thus *μὴ ἀμάρτης*, meaning in the first stage 'perhaps you will go wrong,' gradually was used to imply so much warning against going wrong as to be tantamount to a prohibition, 'do not go wrong.'

In the course of development from the second to the third stage, the change is not this time a modification of idiom, but a growth of construction. In the early paratactic stage of language, the turn of thought expressed by *μή* and the subjunctive naturally stood in a variety of relations to the preceding sentence with which it was *coordinate*; consequently, as language became more syntactic, the same form of expression stood in an equal variety of relations to the clause to which it was *subordinate*. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this change. The paratactic expression, *δεῖδω· μή ἔλθῃ* (I am afraid; perhaps he will come), passed into the syntactic expression, *δεῖδω μή ἔλθῃ* (I am afraid that he will come). Similarly *φεύγωμεν· μή ἡμᾶς ἔλῃ* (let us flee; perhaps he will seize us) became *φεύγωμεν, μή ἡμᾶς ἔλῃ* (let us flee, that he may not seize us). And again *ὄρα· μή ἀμάρτης* (look out; perhaps you will make a mistake) became *ὄρα μή ἀμάρτης* (see that you make no mistake). In this way the numerous uses of *μή* and the subjunctive in syntax can all be traced back to the single use of *μή* and the subjunctive, in the paratactic stage of language, to express doubt. Since the Homeric poems represent a transitional period from paratactic to syntactic expression, it is often difficult in a given case to decide whether the thought expressed by *μή* and the subjunctive forms an independent sentence or a subordinate clause; and punctuation in each case depends on the decision.

108. *ποτί*, adverbial, 'in addition,' 'beside.'

111. *εἴ τις...καλέσειεν, εἰ* (also *εἴθε, εἰ γάρ*) with the optative expresses a wish. By the agglutination of a second clause indicating (by the optative and *ἄν*) what would result from the fulfilment of that wish, were formed conditional clauses.

121. *μεθίει* may be regarded either as absolute or as sharing with *οὐκ ἐθέλει* the government of *πονέσθαι*. For the two uses cf. *Il.* 13. 229 and 234.

127. *ἵνα γάρ*. Considerable difficulty has been made by editors over the collocation of *γάρ* with the relative *ἵνα* ('where'), their basis of argument apparently being that in English we cannot combine 'for' with 'where,' but are content to say either 'for there' or simply 'where.' English idiom, however, is a strange standard by which to judge Homeric Greek, which could combine *γάρ* with the relative just

as well as with the demonstrative; cf. *Il.* 23. 9 ὁ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων, and *Il.* 9. 422 τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων. It would be equally rational to object to the combinations ἀλλὰ γὰρ and καὶ γὰρ on the ground that English idiom does not permit 'but for' or 'and for.'

133. περονήσατο, the περόνη was a brooch or clasp made on the principle of the safety-pin.

135—6. For a description of Homeric armour see *Introd.* p. xxx.

142. ὅ τι, a loose accusative of relation, amplifying, as it were, the meaning of τίφθ'. 'For what cause do ye thus wander..., in respect of which need has so urgently come?'

147. This line is with good reason suspected as an interpolation from 327, below. The question of fighting or of going home has already been settled in the last book. The interpolation may well be due to a desire to supply an infinitive with ἐπέουκεν (*Leaf*).

152—3. For a description of Homeric armour see *Introd.* p. xxx.

153. σαρωτήρῃος, a spike at the butt-end of the spear, of the same appearance and purpose as that which is now fitted to fishing-rods.

155. ὑπέστρωτο. Unless we (without authority) suppose τὸ ῥινόν as a by-form of ὁ ῥινός, it seems necessary to regard ὑπέστρωτο as middle voice and governing ῥινόν. 'He had spread an oxhide beneath himself,' or 'He had had an oxhide spread beneath him.' Yet τετάνυστο in the next line is undoubtedly passive.

156. κράτεσφι. An instance of false analogy in the formation of an archaic form. No stem κρατεσ- is known, whereas in the apparently similar forms στηθεσφι, ὄρεσφι, ὄχεσφι etc., it is from stems στηθεσ-, ὄρεσ-, ὄχεσ-, that are formed the genitives στηθε(σ)-ος, ὄρε(σ)-ος, ὄχε(σ)-ος.

159. ἄωτεις, a rare word, probably connected with the root of ἄημι ('blow'), and having reference to the deep regular breathing of the sleeper.

160. θρωσμῷ πεδίῳ, 'an eminence of the plain,' a hill 'springing' from it.

164. σχέτλιος, 'hardy,' 'unflagging,' used here in admiration of physical endurance: as applied to mental qualities, it generally bears a bad sense, 'stubborn,' 'hard-hearted.'

166. ἔπειτα, on that account, i.e. in virtue of youth.

167. ἀμήχανος, in passive sense, 'intractable,' said with some humour, to which Nestor responds with εἰ μ' ἐλεάρεις (*l.* 176).

173—4. The construction is loose, for ἡ δλεθρος ἢ βιῶναι does not strictly constitute a subject to ἵσταται, but rather an explanatory phrase in quasi-apposition to the whole of the previous line.

175. Φυλέος νιόν, sc. Meges.

183. δυσωρήσονται. This form, which all MSS. concur in giving, must be regarded as aorist subjunctive, and not as future indicative: for the former is commonly used by Homer in similes, the latter never. So regarded, it constitutes an unique example of the short vowel retained in the subjunctive of a Non-Thematic tense otherwise than under the exigencies of metre. "The long η or ω," says Monro (*H. G.* p. 49), "comes in place of ε or ο whenever *it can do so without disturbing the metre.*" This almost certainly means that the forms in η and ω are not original, but are the result of an adaptation—a very natural adaptation, if tradition of the poems was largely oral—to the idiom of later times. By what accident the word *δυσωρήσονται* escaped that process of adaptation, unless it were read as future indic., it is impossible to conjecture.

188. φυλασσομένοισι. For the dative, where a genitive in agreement with τῶν would be more strictly grammatical, cf. 9. 635—6.

189. τετράφατο. Pluperfect passive of τρέπω. The formation is as follows: corresponding to the 3rd sing. τέτραπ-το would be a 3rd plur. τετραπ-ντο. For ν in this position (i.e. for γ sonant), ᾱ is substituted, and along with that substitution, aspiration of the final consonant of the stem (τετραπ- to τετραφ-) is apt to take place. Cf. δειδέχατο (9. 671) for δειδεκ-ντο. The substitution of ᾱ for γ was extended by analogy to cases in which ν was not necessarily a sonant but could be pronounced as a consonant, e.g. βεβόληατο (93) for βεβόληντο, πιθόλατο (10. 57) for πίθουντο.

ὅππότε ᾄοιεν. Not 'whenever they heard,' but 'in case they should hear at any moment the Trojans coming upon them' (ἐπί with ἰόντων).

195. βουλῇν. "The acc. of the object to which motion is directed (*terminus ad quem*) is common with ἰκνέομαι, ἴκω, ἰκάνω (which always imply *reaching* a point)," *H. G.* p. 96. The usage is extended more rarely to other simple verbs (ἔρχομαι, ἄγω etc.), to καλεῖν (according to Leaf) only here.

197. συμμητιάσθαι. Instead of συμμητιάεσθαι, by assimilation of vowels. See above, on 9. 229. Cf. also ἐδριώντο in next line.

200. πεπτεώτων. The MSS. give *πιπτόντων*, but the present participle affords no possible sense. The dead bodies (νέκυνες) were not now falling, but were already fallen. Some emendation is inevitable, and *πεπτεώτων* (scanned as trisyllable, cf. *Il.* 21. 503) involves very slight literal change.

204—13. The punctuation of these lines is a matter of much

uncertainty. That adopted in the text represents the coordination of three wishes variously expressed, followed by a statement of the result of the fulfilment of those wishes. The three wishes are expressed by the sentences (1) οὐκ ἂν...ἐλθεῖν; (2) εἰ τινα...Ἀχαιοὺς; (3) ταῦτά τε πάντα...ἄσκηθής. Of these the first is put in the form of a question (cf. the use of πῶς ἂν and optat.) conveying a suggestion; the second by εἰ and the optative expressing a wish (cf. on l. 111 above); the third by a pure optative likewise expressing a wish. The result of the fulfilment of these wishes is then expressed by the sentence μέγα κεν...ἔσθλή. So disposed, the text presents the speech in a completely paratactic form. It is equally legitimate to present it in a syntactic form by reserving the mark of interrogation (here placed after ἐλθεῖν) until ἄσκηθής. The scheme of the sentence would then become οὐκ ἂν δὴ τις...πεπίθοιτο...ἐλθεῖν, (εἰ...ἔλοι...ἦ...πύθοιτο ἄσσα τε μητιώσιν...Ἀχαιοὺς), ταῦτά τε—πύθοιτο καὶ...ἔλθοι ἄσκηθής; In such a scheme the whole clause bracketed becomes subordinate to ἐλθεῖν (=‘to go in the hope that he might capture...or learn’ etc.), and ταῦτά τε πύθοιτο καὶ ἔλθοι are coordinate with πεπίθοιτο, and continue the question beginning with οὐκ ἂν δὴ τις. Several variations between these two extremes of paratactic and syntactic arrangement may be made.

210. ἐπὲλ δαμάσαντό γε. The particle γε is here added (like ἄρα more frequently) to show that the reason is not a statement of fact by the speaker, but the allegation of the Trojans in their counsels.

215. τῶν πάντων ἕκαστος δώσουσι. An awkward piece of construction. Translate, ‘one and all, they will give...’

217. παρέσται. The sentence is usually translated, ‘and always at feast and banquet he shall be present,’ i.e. part of the reward is to be a standing invitation to dinner. It appears to me better to connect the clause more closely with the last, and to allow to the δὲ (αἰεὶ δέ) its proper correspondence with μέν (τῇ μέν). Translate then, ‘To that (i.e. to a black ewe which lambs well) is no possession equal; but ever at feast and banquet there will be to hand,’ i.e. there will always be a lamb ready to slaughter and serve up. The verb παρῆναι is frequent in Homer in this sense, cf. *Od.* i. 140 χαριζομένη παρεόντων, where also the word applies to food.

It may also be noted as an objection to the usual translation that παρῆναι ἐν δαίτησι, meaning ‘to be present at feasts,’ is not the Homeric idiom; παρῆναι governs a dative (παρῆναι δαίτησι), and no ἐν is required. On the other hand, in the translation suggested as preferable, ἐν will be

required; for the dative governed by *παρέσται* would, if expressed, be *οἱ* ('to him').

224. *έρχομένω*, the dual subject is split by the phrase *πρὸ ὁ τοῦ* (one before the other), and the main verb, *ἐνόησεν*, is thereby attracted to the singular.

224—6. The gnomic or generalising particle *τε* occurs six times in these three lines. Cf. *Il.* 4. 483, where it occurs thrice in three lines of a simile. Possibly the unwonted frequency of it in this passage is due to the desire of the speaker to avoid any confession of personal misgivings by generalising his reasons for asking for a companion.

226. *βράσσω*, comparative of *βραχύς*, only here found: cf. *ἐλάσσω* from *ἐλαχύς*, *θάσσω* from *ταχύς*. It cannot be regarded as comparative of *βραδύς* for the reason that *βραδ-ίων* would become not *βράσσω*, but *βράζω*.

231. *ὁ τλήμων*. Both here and in l. 498 the MSS. give *ὁ τλήμων*, and in both cases the article appears inconsistent with Homeric usage. It is a noteworthy coincidence that these are also the only two passages in Homer, in which *τλήμων* occurs as an epithet of Odysseus. *τλήμων* (from root of *τλάω*) means in this context 'enduring.' In later times the sense of 'miserable' predominated.

236. *φαινομένων τὸν ἄριστον*, 'the best of them as they present (or offer) themselves.' A curious expression, if correct. A conjecture *φαινόμενόν τοι ἄριστον* has been made.

238. *καλλείπειν*. Syncopated infin. of *καταλείπω*, in imperative sense.

247. *νοστήσaiμεν*, without *κέν* or *ἄν*, denoting less certainty. *νοστήσaiμεν* stands to *νοστήσaiμεν ἄν* as 'we *might* return' to 'we *should* return.' Cf. *Il.* 556—7.

249. *μήτε τι νείκει*, coordinate with *αἶνεε* in construction, but subordinate in sense. 'Refrain from praise of me even as from chiding.'

252—3. *παρώχωκεν κ.τ.λ.* This sentence has invariably, I believe, been translated as though *πλέων* were the comparative of *πολύς* and in agreement with *νύξ*. On this view two translations have been evolved: (1) 'More of the night than two-thirds is gone, and a third is still left,'—an obvious error in simple arithmetic of which *πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς* should not have been guilty; (2) 'The greater part of night, consisting of two-thirds, is gone etc.'—in which the supposed usage of the genitive is harsh and artificial. Both Scylla and Charybdis may be avoided by treating *πλέων* not as the nomin. sing. of the comparative of *πολύς* in



agreement with *νύξ*, but as genit. plur. of the adjective *πλέος* ('full') in agreement with *μοιράων*. The translation of the sentence thus becomes: 'Night hath passed through two full watches, and (only) the third is yet left.' The genitive, on this view, is one of the class so frequent in Homer with verbs of motion (cf. 10. 344, 353, etc.). Homer for the most part uses the form *πλείος* (as 9. 71, 10. 579), but *πλέος* also occurs (*Od.* 20. 355).

257. *κυνέην...ταυρείην*. *κυνέη* by derivation meant some kind of dog-skin head-gear, but must by Homer's time have lost that special sense, to assume the general meaning of 'helmet'; for it admits of qualification by such epithets as *ταυρείη*, *κτιδέη*, *πάγχαλκος* etc., denoting the material of which it is made. See Introduction, p. xxiii.

258. *ἄφαλόν τε καὶ ἄλλοφον*. The *φάλος* was a ridge running along the top of the helmet fore and aft; such ridges might be one or more in number. The *λόφος* was a crest of horsehair or such-like material. See Introduction, p. xxxii.

266. See above on 9. 447.

268. *Σκάνδειαν*, accus. of destination; see above on l. 195, *κεκλήατο βουλήν*.

274. *δεξιόν*, 'on their right hand,' and therefore of favourable omen. See above on 9. 236.

280. *κινύμενος*, 'when I bestir myself.'

281. *ἐνκλείας*, not in agreement with *νῆας*, but with the subject of *ἀφικέσθαι* (sc. *ἡμᾶς*).

284. *ἄτρυτώνη*. A title of Athene, formed from the adjective *ἄτρυτος*, 'unwearied.'

285—90. The episode to which Diomedes here refers is narrated more fully in *Il.* iv. 370—400. The *μέρμερα ἔργα* of Tydeus consisted in slaying fifty Cadmeans save one, who were waylaying him in ambush.

302. *πυκινὴν βουλήν*, 'close counsel.'

304. *ἄρκιος*, 'sure.' Some also translate 'sufficient,' but that meaning, although it would be intelligible enough both here and in other passages of Homer and Hesiod, seems nowhere to be absolutely required in early Greek.

317. *μῶνος*, 'an only son.'

321. *τὸ σκῆπτρον*, 'yonder staff,' not merely 'thy staff': the article is here used in the deictic sense. In the next line *τοὺς ἵππους... οἱ φορέουσι* = 'those horses which carry....'

324. *οὐδ' ἀπὸ δόξης*. This phrase is usually taken to mean 'nor

different from what you expect.' This is certainly the commonest use of ἀπό in such phrases, cf. ἀπό σκοποῦ, ἀπό γνώμης etc. But there is another sense best seen in the phrase ἀπὶ γλώσσης, by word of mouth, in which ἀπό denotes the source of information: and the phrase ἀπό γνώμης is also used by Aeschylus in this sense: cf. *Eum.* 674

ἤδη κελεύω τοῖσδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης φέρειν

ψῆφον δικαίαν, ὡς ἄλλis λελεγμένων.

Similarly in the passage before us, if the word δόξα be used with some emphasis to denote mere fancy or suspicion as opposed to certain knowledge, the phrase σκόπος οὐκ ἀπὸ δόξης may mean 'a spy who does not rest his information on mere suspicions of his own, but clearly ascertains facts.'

330. μὴ...ἐποχήσεται. For the use of μὴ with the indicative, "in oaths, to express solemn or impassioned denial," cf. *Il.* 15. 36, ἔστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα...μὴ δι' ἐμὴν ἰότητα Ἰοσειδῶν ἐνοσίχθων πημαίνει. "In this use μὴ denies by *disclaiming* (as it were) or protesting against a fact supposed to be within the speaker's power (= *far be it from me that* etc.)," *H. G.* p. 260. The usage continued in Attic, as Arist. *Eccl.* 1000, μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην...μὴ 'γὼ σ' ἀφήσω.

335. κτιδέην κυνέην. See above on l. 257.

344. πεδίοιο. The genitive here may be regarded as expressing either the space *within* which motion takes place (as in the phrase διέπρησσον πεδίοιο etc.), or as simply a partitive genitive dependent on τυτθόν.

346. παραφθαίησι. The majority of the mss. concur in giving παραφθαίησι, a form in which -αι- is an indication of optative mood, -σι of subjunctive. Monro (*H. G.* p. 53) condemns the form as "probably a pseudo-archaic form, made on the analogy of the subjunctives in -ησι." It has seemed better to read, with the authority of one MS. (A), παραφθαίησι, which must be regarded as subjunctive from a supposed by-form of the present indic., φθαίω (= φθάνω). So in g. 203 we had a solitary instance of a by-form κεραίω = κεράννυμι.

349. φωνήσαντε, a slight inconsistency, more in expression than in thought, for only Odysseus has been made to speak.

351. ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ οὐρα πέλονται ἡμιόνων. For a similar delimitation of distance cf. *Od.* 8. 124. The meaning of the passages has been explained by Prof. Ridgeway (*J. H. S.* vi.) as follows. The unit of area in land-measurement (which may have constituted one man's allotment in the common land) was the γύης, or amount of land ploughed in one day. This would naturally vary according

to the speed of the animals (oxen or mules) used for ploughing. But if the length of a furrow were a fixed conventional standard of length (as in the English 'furlong' = 'furrow-long'), then, on dividing the variable area (γῆς) by the constant measure of length (a furrow), the quotient (i.e. the breadth of the piece of land ploughed in one day) will be the index of the variations in the pace of the animals. The faster the team, the wider the piece of land ploughed in the day. This width is what is meant by these phrases; and inasmuch as 'mules are more excellent than oxen' (l. 352) in ploughing, there become two standards of distance:—the shorter being the width of a piece of land ploughed in one day by *oxen*; the longer being the width of a piece of land ploughed in one day by *mules*. The οὔρα are then the side-boundaries of the strip ploughed, and the width of the strip is measured between them.

363. ἦδ' ὁ πολίπορθος. Both here and in *Il.* 2. 278 the MSS. give ὁ πολίπορθος: such an use of the article is difficult to reconcile with Homeric idiom. As in both cases elision occurs before ὁ, an obvious remedy is to remove the article and to read here ἦδ' ἐ πολίπορθος, and in the other passage ἀνὰ δὲ πολίπορθος.

373. ὑπὲρ ὤμων, 'passing over his shoulder'; the sense of *motion* is sufficiently implied, although the verb ἐπάγη expresses only the final *position* of the spear.

376. χλωρός, in agreement with the subject of ἔστη τάρβησέν τε. The phrase ἀραβος...δδόντων is parenthetical.

378. ἐμὲ λύσομαι, 'I will get myself ransomed.'

383. καταθύμιος, 'let not death be in thy mind.' The adjective more commonly means 'to one's mind,' i.e. agreeable, acceptable. But cf. *Il.* 17. 201.

387—9. ἦ...ἦ...ἦ. The accentuation indicates that the alternative questions are those which contain the words σιλήσων and διασκοπιᾶσθαι respectively (cf. *Il.* 342—3). The second question itself contains two clauses, to both of which διασκοπιᾶσθαι belongs,—depending on both πρόηκε and ἀνῆκεν. The ἦ which connects these two clauses is not interrogative. ἦ...ἦ...ἦ here = Lat. *utrum...an...vel*.

389. αὐτόν, 'of thine own accord,' 'unbidden.'

394. θοήν, 'keen' seems to be the best translation of this difficult epithet of 'night.' The same phrase occurs in Hes. *Thes.* 481. 'Keen,' 'sharp,' 'pointed' is a legitimate meaning of θοός.

398. σφίσιν, only here used as reflexive pronoun on the second person. But ὅς, ἐός, σφέτερος and ἑαυτοῦ can all be found so used in

different periods of Greek, and it has been shown etymologically that the pronominal stem *sva* is correctly used as *possessive* without other indication of person than that imparted to it by context. Hence *σφίσιν* in this passage, though unique, need not fall under suspicion.

408. *πῶς δ' αὖ*. The MSS. vary between *πῶς δαλ* and *πῶς δ' αὖ*. The former is improbable as being an expression used colloquially to impart a tone of surprise to a question: the latter as involving a scarcely Homeric use of the article. The emendation *δ' αὖ* (Nauck) gives precisely the tone wanted in passing from one question to another.

409. *ἄσσα τε μητιώωσι*. *ἄσσα* cannot be used as a direct interrogative pronoun; its two uses are (1) as relative, (2) in indirect interrogation. In this passage it cannot introduce an indirect question dependent on *κατάλεξον* for the reason that a series of direct questions have intervened. It must therefore be taken as introducing a loose relative clause anticipatory of the direct question *ἥ μεμάασιν...ἥ...ἀναχωρήσουσιν...*; For a similar loose construction cf. ll. 416—7. Translate 'As to that which they plan among themselves, have they determined to abide etc. or will they retreat etc.?'

416—7. *φυλακάς* is attracted to the case of the relative *ἃς*, and loosely anticipates the subject of the sentence. With *οὗ τις* supply from *φυλακάς* the nom. sing. *φυλακή*.

418. *ὅσσοι μὲν κ.τ.λ.* The clause begins as though the main sentence were to be *τόσσοι Τρῶες ἐγρηγόρθασιν*, 'as many as are the homes etc., so many are they that keep vigil': but for the latter half is substituted the expression, 'those, who needs must, keep vigil.' The *δέ* in l. 419 marks the beginning of the apodosis.

422. *σφιν*, sc. *ἐπικούροις*, the foreign allies.

428. *πρὸς μὲν ἁλός*, literally 'from the side of the sea,' i.e. in our idiom, which differs from that of Greek and of Latin, 'towards the sea.'

428—31. The mention of the Pelasgians as one among a number of tribes does not prove that none of the other tribes enumerated were of that Pelasgian race, traces of whose civilisation have been found from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. The fact may be equally well explained on the supposition that one tribe only in Asia Minor retained the old ethnic name, while the rest had in the course of time taken to themselves distinctive appellations. "The fact that in the islands, on the mainland of Greece and in Asia Minor we find diffused a uniform culture in the earliest times, meets a ready explanation as

soon as we realize that the Carians, Mysians, Leleges, Minyans, Iones, and others whom we have been in the habit of regarding as separate races were simply tribes of the same great ethnic stock" (Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, I. p. 191). As regards the geographical distribution of the tribes here mentioned who had sent forces to Troy, the Paeones lay to the N.W., in Europe; the Mysians and Phrygians S.E.; the Maeones, Carians and Lycians S.; while of the remaining three, the Leleges seem to have occupied the Carian sea-board; the Pelasgian tribe had for its chief town Larisa on the coast of Mysia; and the Kaukones are said to have inhabited Bithynia and Paphlagonia. Neither the Leleges nor the Kaukones appear in the catalogue of the Trojan allies (*Il.* 2. 816—77), but the other seven tribes obtain due notice.

437. **λευκότεροι.** The abrupt change from the accusative in the preceding sentence to the nominative in this marks an exclamation. This 'Interjectional Nominative' is recognised by Monro (*Il. G.* p. 115) as a regular Homeric usage. A second instance of it in relation to these same horses occurs below, l. 547.

444. **ὄφρα κεν ἔλθῃτον,** 'until,' not purely temporal, but containing an idea of purpose.

447. Dolon has not mentioned his name to Diomedes.

457. **φθεγγομένου,** either 'even while he strove to speak,' or 'with a shriek.'

462. **τοῖσδεσσι,** a strange form of the dat. plur. of ὅδε. The enclitic -δε appears to be declined as well as the pronoun ὅ.

466. **δέελον δ' ἐπὶ σῆμά τ' ἔθηκεν.** There is some difficulty in this line, chiefly owing to **δέελον** being elsewhere unknown. Hesychius seems to have connected it with **δέω** ('bind') and to have regarded it as a substantive; in that case it would be object, along with **σῆμα**, of the verb **ἐπέθηκεν**, and **τε** would couple the two objects in the ordinary way. If, on the other hand, **δέελος** be an open form of the adjective **δῆλος**, the position of **τε**, which should then follow **δέ** immediately, is unaccountable.

468. **θοήν.** See above on l. 394.

470. **τέλος.** See above on l. 56.

475. **ἐπιδιφριάδος.** It is not known what part of the chariot was indicated by this term. It is very probably, as Leaf suggests, the post which stood upright in the front of the ancient chariot. The adjective **πυμάτη** then becomes more intelligible than if **ἐπιδιφριάς** be taken as = **ἄντυξ** (the rail of the chariot): for the chariot being a light structure,



it would be more sensible to tether horses to the 'bottom of the post' than to the 'end of the rail.'

480. μέλειον, 'useless,' 'idle,' as always in Homer. The sense of 'wretched' was of later development.

482. τῷ, sc. Diomedē.

485. ἀσημάντοισιν. The verb σημαίνειν meant originally 'to give the signal.' Hence came first the meaning 'to be in command' of troops, as above in l. 58, and secondly 'to be in charge' of anything such as flocks and herds. Thus σημάτων in *Il.* 8. 127 and 15. 325 means a 'shepherd,' and here the adjective ἀσήμαντος means 'without a shepherd.'

490. ποδός. This genitive is common "with verbs that imply *fastening to, holding by, etc.*" and is classed by Monro (*H. G.* p. 106) among the quasi-partitive genitives, cf. l. 505 ῥυμοῦ ἐξεργύοι.

491. τά, antecedent of the clause introduced by ὅπως.

493. ἀήθεσσον κ.τ.λ., 'For they were as yet unaccustomed thereto,' as being newly arrived at the war.

497. There can be little question that this line is an interpolation by some reciter who understood κακὸν ὄναρ in a figurative and ironical sense. The literal sense is preferable. Rhesus has a dream foreboding evil which makes him breathe uneasily, and Diomedē is only just in time to anticipate his waking and acting upon the warning of his sleep. There is some want of skill in the interpolation, for, as Leaf observes, τὴν νύκτα should mean 'all night through.'

498. ὁ τλήμων. See above on l. 231.

499. συνήειπεν. It is doubtful whether αἰέρω in this compound is a by-form of εἶρω ('join,' 'tie'), or possesses a technical sense similar to the intransitive use in Attic phrases such as αἶραι τῷ στρατῷ, ταῖς ναυσίν, = 'to get under weigh,' 'start.'

502. πιφαύσκων, 'by way of signalling' to Diomedē.

505. ῥυμοῦ, 'by the pole.' For the genitive see above on l. 490.

506. τῶν, the use of the article is to contrast the men whom he meditates slaying with the chariot which he meditates carrying off. A strong contrast is the more necessary because the first alternative has been subdivided by ἐξεργύοι ἢ ἐκφέροι, which together form only *one* of the two plans in his mind (though the plan itself is capable of diverse execution): the second alternative needs marking all the more emphatically because of that subdivision.

510. πεφοβημένος, 'put to flight,' 'in full flight.' See above on *Il.* 9. 2.

510—11. For an explanation of the development of subordinate clauses from independent sentences in the case of *μή* followed by the subjunctive see above on l. 101. The punctuation of the present passage represents the view that *μή...ἐλθῆς* is a subordinate clause (*μή* being practically equivalent to *ὅπως μή* or *ἵνα μή*), but that *μή...ἐγείρῃσιν* constitutes an independent sentence (*μή* introducing the expression of an apprehension).

513. *ἔππων ἐπεβήσετο*. Some doubt has been raised as to whether this expression here refers to mounting the chariot or mounting the horses. Riding on horseback is known to Homer, but nowhere else attributed to the Homeric warriors, and the phrase in question is regularly used of mounting the chariot (e.g. *Il.* 5. 46). On the other hand, no mention is here made of harnessing the two horses, but it is rather suggested that, immediately upon Athene's admonition, Diomedes leapt hurriedly (*καρπαλίμως*) on horseback without pause for executing either of his designs of ll. 504—6. Again, no mention is made afterwards of either the chariot or the *ποικίλα τεύχεα* which lay in it—and this in spite of the detail with which are afterwards recorded the admiration bestowed on the horses, the disposition of them in Diomedes's stable, and the storing of the spoils of Dolon (a lesser prize surely than would have been those of Rhesus), in the stern of the ship. Further, as against the argument that Homeric heroes are not elsewhere mentioned as riding on horseback, it may fairly be urged that Diomedes and Odysseus are somewhat differently circumstanced from the ordinary warrior. The fact that chariot-driving was *de rigueur* in pitched battles would not necessarily interfere with riding bare-back during a nocturnal foray. Lastly, one question may be put to those who maintain that Odysseus and Diomedes drove off in the chariot. If, as we hear in ll. 500—1, Odysseus was reduced to using his bow to lash the horses, 'because he had forgotten to take the whip out of the chariot,' why did he continue to use his bow (ll. 513—4) after the horses had been harnessed to the chariot in which he knew he had previously left the whip?

We must surely conclude that for this night only Homeric warriors exhibited the feat of riding bare-back.

515. *οὐδ' ἄλαοσκοπὴν εἶχε*. The verdict of Rhesus and his twelve dead comrades, could they have given one, would have been a reversal of this judgment. But the phrase is part of the Epic stock-in-trade (cf. *Il.* 13. 10, 14. 135, *Od.* 1. 285), and its local appropriateness must not be more severely judged than that of a fixed epithet. See above on 9. 476.

524. **θηεῦντο.** *θηέομαι*, the Ionic form of the verb which appears in Attic as *θεάομαι*, means properly no more than to look upon, to gaze upon; but in Homer it almost invariably implies some degree of astonishment excited by the spectacle. In Attic this collateral notion was less marked, although perpetuated in the actual word 'theatre.'

526. **οἱ δέ,** the story returns to Odysseus and Diomedes.

531. **τῇ γὰρ φίλον.** Why the horses of Rhesus should wish to go to the Greek camp is certainly not clear, but this slight difficulty forms hardly sufficient grounds for supposing interpolation—unless it were the accidental interpolation liable to result from a reminiscence of similar passages.

534. **ψεύσομαι,** 'shall I be speaking false or true?'

535. This line is famous as having been quoted by the Emperor Nero, when he heard the horses of his pursuers drawing nearer and nerved himself to take his own life. Suet. *Nero*, cap. 49.

536. **ὁ κρατερὸς Διομ.** The use of the article in this passage appears to be post-Homeric. No emphatic contrast is wanted between Odysseus and Diomedes, and consequently *ὁ* is otiose. To eject *καὶ ὁ* and to write *ἡδὲ* instead would be a simple remedy.

538. **μή τι πάθωσιν.** For this euphemism see above on l. 26.

546. **σφῶε.** Distinguish *σφῶε* (= 'them two') from *σφῶϊ* in l. 552 (= 'you two').

547. **ἐοικότες.** For the 'Interjectional Nominative' see above on l. 437.

556. **ἡ ἐπερ οἷδε,** sc. *εἰσίν*. Such a construction instead of *ἡ τοῦσδε* or the simple genitive of comparison (*τῶνδε*) is rare. But instances occur even in Attic: e.g. Dem. *de Cqr.* 178 *ἡμῶν δὲ ἀμεινον ἢ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ μέλλον προορωμένων* (gen. absol.).

557. **δωρήσαιο.** For the optat. without *ἂν* or *κεν* see above on l. 247.

560. **πάρ,** adverbial, 'beside.'

561. **τὸν τρισκαίδεκατον.** Twelve victims in addition to Rhesus have already been mentioned; 'the thirteenth' follows naturally on the mention of twelve, and the reckoning therefore does not include Rhesus.

571. **ὄφρα,** 'until they should have made ready a sacrifice.' Either the dedication of the spoils was to be accompanied by sacrifice, or the value of the spoils was to be paid to Athene in the form of sacrifice before they could be used again for human purposes.

577. **λίπα.** In Homer this word always suffers elision of the final

vowel, but that that vowel is *a* is shown by Thuc. i. 6, 4. 68, etc. That being so, it still remains doubtful whether the word is an indeclinable substantive (denoting 'oil' or 'grease' generically) which is qualified by a second substantive *έλαιον* to specify the kind of oil (viz. olive-oil), or is "an adverb related to *λιπαρός*, as *κάρα* to *καρπερός*, *λίγα* to *λιγυρός*, etc. meaning 'richly,' 'thickly'" (Monro quoted by Leaf *ad loc.*).

578. *δείπνω*. Careful commentators observe that this is the third *δείπνον* which Odysseus has made in the course of one night; for the other two see 9. 20 and 221. At any rate he had worked for them. *καλὴ ὄρεξι!*, as his descendants of to-day say, *bon appétit!*

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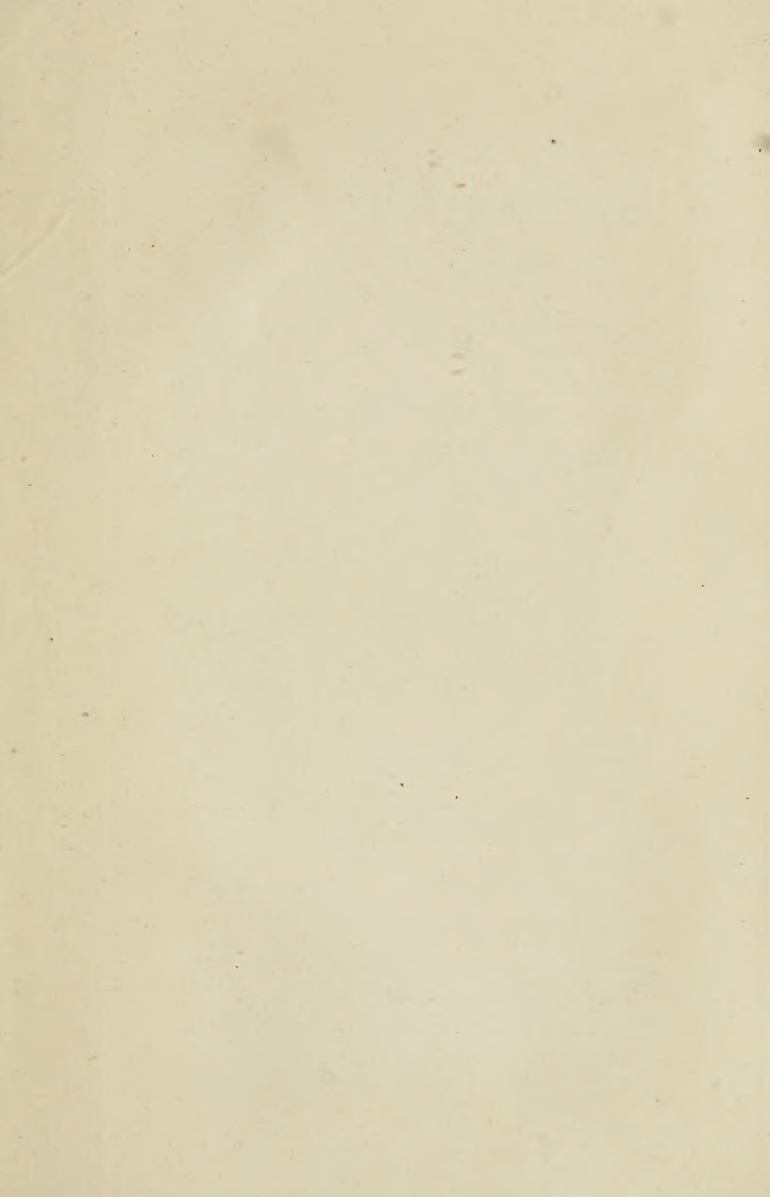
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